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# HORÆ BIBLICÆ;

BEING A CONNECTED

## SERIES OF NOTES

ON THE

*TEXT AND LITERARY HISTORY OF THE BIBLES,*

OR

*SACRED BOOKS OF THE JEWS AND CHRISTIANS;*

AND ON

THE BIBLES OR BOOKS ACCOUNTED SACRED BY THE MAHOMETANS, HINDUS, PARSEES, CHINESE, AND SCANDINAVIANS.

VOLUME THE FIRST,

CONTAINING

A CONNECTED SERIES OF NOTES ON THE ORIGINAL TEXT, EARLY VERSIONS, AND PRINTED EDITIONS OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT.

THE FOURTH EDITION.

By Charles Butler.

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1807.

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Quare quis tandem me reprehendat, si quantum cæteris ad festos dies ludorum celebrandos, quantum ad alias voluptates, et ad ipsam requiem, animi et corporis conceditur temporis: quantum alii tempestivis conviviis, quantum aleæ, quantum pilæ, tantum mihi egomet, ad hæc studia recolenda, sumpsero.

CIC. PRO ARCHIA.

Le changement d'etude est toujours un delassement pour moi.

D'AGUESSEAU.

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TO

Sir John Courtenay Throckmorton,

BARONET,

THIS ESSAY

IS INSCRIBED,

BY HIS MOST OBEDIENT SERVANT,

CHARLES BUTLER.

Lincoln's Inn.

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## ERRATA.

| Page | Line | |
|---|---|---|
| 11, | 8, | for *from* read *form*. |
| 139, | 22, | for *began* read *begun*. |
| 144, | 13, | dele &c. |
| 193, | 16, | dele *through*. |
| 214, | 12, | for *multus* read *multis*. |
| 225, | 7, | dele *though*. |

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# HORÆ BIBLICÆ.

WITH a view to impress on the memory the result of some miscellaneous reading on different subjects of BIBLICAL LITERATURE, the following notes were committed to paper. It may be found, that they give,

I. Some history of the rise and decline of the Hebrew language, including an account of the Mishna, the Two Gemaras, and the Targums: II. Some account of the Hellenistic language, principally with a view to the Septuagint version of the Bible: under this head, mention will be made of the early versions of the Old Tes tament, and the biblical labours of Origen: III. Some observations on the effect pro-



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duced on the style of the New Testament, 1st, by the Hellenistic idiom of the writers; 2dly, by the Rabbinical doctrines current in Judæa at the time of Christ's appearance on earth, and by the controversies among the sects, into which the learned were then divided; 3dly, by the literary pursuits of the Jews being confined to their religious tenets and observances; 4thly, by the political subserviency of the Jews to the Romans; 5thly, by their connexions and intercourse with the neighbouring nations; and 6thly, by the difference of the dialects, which prevailed among the Jews themselves: IV. Some account, 1st, of the biblical literature of the middle ages; 2dly, of the industry of the Monks; and 3dly, of the industry of the Jews, in copying Hebrew manuscripts: V. Some notion of the Masorah, and the Keri and Ketibh: VI. Some notion of the controversy respecting the nature, antiquity, and utility of the vowel points: VII. Some general remarks,—1st,

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on the history of the Jews after their return from the Babylonish captivity to the birth of Christ; 2dly, on the persecutions suffered by the Jews; 3dly, on their present state; 4thly, on their religious tenets; 5thly, on the appellations of their doctors and teachers; 6thly, on the distinction between the Tanaits or Rabanists and Caraits, and the actual state of the Pharisees and Sadducees; 7thly, on the Cabala; 8thly, on their writers against the Christian religion; and 9thly, on their principles respecting religious toleration: VIII. Some observations on the nature of the Hebrew manuscripts, and the principal printed editions of the Hebrew Bible: IX. Some account of the principal Greek manuscripts of the New Testament: X. Of the Polyglott editions of the New Testament: XI. Of the principal Greek editions of the New Testament: XII. Of the versions of the New Testament into the Romeika, or Modern Greek: XIII. Of the Oriental

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Versions of the New Testament; and the Ancient Versions of it into the Northern Languages,—with some notice of the Versions of the Old Testament into those languages: XIV. Of the Latin Vulgate: XV. Of the English translations of the Bible: XVI. And of the division of the Bible into chapters and verses: XVII. Some general observations will be offered on the nature of the various readings of the sacred text, so far as they may be supposed to influence the questions respecting its purity, authenticity, or divine inspiration: XVIII. Mention will then be made of the principal works made use of by the writer, in the course of his enquiries.

## I.

THE claim of THE HEBREW LANGUAGE to high antiquity cannot be denied: its pretensions to be the original language of mankind, and to have been the only language in existence before the confusion at

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Babel, have, by many respectable writers, been thought not inconsiderable. It may be asserted confidently, that it was, at least, a dialect of that language, and that, in the strictest sense of the word, it is the oldest language, in which, any work now extant was written. In a general sense it denotes the language used by the descendants of Abraham, in all the variations of their fortune, before and after they became possessed of the promised land; during their captivity in Babylon; from their return to their final dispersion; and from their final dispersion, so far as they have retained a peculiar language of their own, to the present time. But it may be more accurately considered, under the three distinct idioms of South Chanaanitic, Aramæan, and Talmudical.

I. 1. It evidently received the appellation of *South Chanaanitic*, from its being the idiom of the inhabitants of the land of Chanaan: and, as no material alteration

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took place in it, during the long period which elapsed, from Abraham's arrival in Chanaan, till the captivity, it is known, through the whole of this period, by that appellation. Nice observers have professed to find, that it arrived at its perfection in the reign of Solomon, and to remark in it some degree of falling off from that time, and have therefore pronounced his reign to be the golden, and the prophesyings of Isaiah to be the silver age of the Hebrew Language: but, unless this observation be understood with some qualification, it appears to have more of fancy than of truth. During the captivity of the Jews in Babylon, their language was far from being wholly forgotten by them. On their return, it was greatly their wish to restore it: but their commixture with the natives of the country, where they had been captives, the residence of many of them in the neighbouring nations, their intercourse and habits with the subjects of other kingdoms, and their frequent political connections

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with the Seleucidan monarchs, introduced into it a multitude of foreign words and foreign idioms. In the progress of time they debased it altogether, and, in a manner, converted it into another language.

I. 2. In this state, it is known by the appellation of *Aramæan*, from *Aram*, one of the sons of *Sem*. His descendants inhabited the Mediterranean region, between the Tigris and Euphrates, and extended north to Armenia, and south to Shinaar, Babylon, and Chaldæa. To the East were the descendants of Ashur, another of the sons of Sem, called the Assyrians; their chief city stood upon the Tigris, and was called Ninive; beyond them were the people of Media. There is reason to suppose that the descendants of Aram never extended themselves beyond the Tigris. But they passed the Euphrates, west, and occupied the territory known to us by the name of Syria. Aram Zobah and some other places were denominated from them.

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In consequence of the circumstance above adverted to, the Aramæan language became, after the captivity, the general language of Palestine. It branched into two dialects, differing in pronunciation rather than in words, the Chaldee, or East Aramæan, and the Syriac, or West Aramæan. The East Aramæan was spoken at Jerusalem and Judæa; the West, in the Galilæa Gentium. The learned, however, still cultivated the study of the old Hebrew or South Chanaanitic, and it was used in the service of the synagogue. Thus it continued the language of literature and religion, but the language of common discourse was the Aramæan. That, therefore, was the language of the Jews, at the time of the birth of Christ; it was spoken by him, in his familiar instructions and conversations; and, with some variation, it continued the language of Judæa, till the final dispersion of the Jews, after the destruction of Jerusalem.

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1. 3. Notwithstanding the destruction of that city, a large portion of the Jews remained, or established themselves, in Judæa. By degrees they formed themselves into a regular system of government, or rather subordination, connected with the various bodies of Jews, dispersed throughout the world. They were divided into the Western and Eastern Jews. The Western inhabited Egypt, Judæa, Italy, and other parts of the Roman empire; the Eastern were settled in Babylon, Chaldæa, and Persia. The head of the Western Jews was known by the name of Patriarch; the head of the Eastern Jews was called, Prince of the Captivity. The office of patriarch was abolished by the imperial laws, about the year 429: from which time, the Western Jews were solely under the rule of the chiefs of their synagogues, whom they called primates. The princes of the captivity had a longer and more splendid sway. They resided at Babylon or Bagdad, and exercised

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their authority over all the Jews who were established there, or in the adjacent country, or in Assyria, Chaldæa, or Parthia. They subsisted as late as the twelfth century. In the midst of their depression and calamities, the Jews were attentive to their religion and language. With the permission of the Romans, they established academies. The most famous were those of Jabné and Tiberias.

About the reign of Antoninus Pius, Rabbi Jehuda Hakkadosh published a collection of Jewish traditions, called the *Mishna*, the style of which seems to shew, that their attempts to restore their language had not been unsuccessful. Surenhusius published the original, with a Latin version, and the commentaries of Maimonides and Bartenora, in six volumes folio, at Amsterdam, 1698—1703. It has been translated into German by Rabe; his translation was published at Onolzbach, in 1760—1763, in six volumes quarto.

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As a supplement to this, the first *Gemara* was written, for the use of the Jews of Judæa, whence it is called the Gemara of Jerusalem. The style of it is so abrupt and barbarous, that the most profound Hebraists almost confess their inability to understand it. After the death of Antoninus Pius, a fresh persecution broke out against those Jews, and they were expelled from their academies within the Roman empire. The chief part of them fled to Babylon, and the neighbouring countries; and there, about the fifth century, they published what is called the Second or Babylonish Gemara, in which there is less of barbarism and obscurity, than in the former. A translation of it was begun in Germany by Rabe. The Mishna and Gemara from what is called the *Talmud*, and the idiom of this collection is called the *Talmudical*. From there being two Gemaras, there are two Talmuds, the Jerusalem and Babylonish: the former consists of the Mishna and Jerusalem Ge-

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mara; the latter, of the Mishna and Babylonish Gemara. The former is preferred by the Christians, as containing fewer fables and trifles; the latter is preferred by the Jews, as descending most into particulars. When they mention the Talmud generally, they understand by it, the Babylonish Talmud.

The Talmudical language was used by many of their writers. About the year 1038 the Jews were expelled from Babylon. Some of the most learned of them passed into Africa, and thence into Spain. Great bodies of them settled in that kingdom. They assisted the Saracens in their conquest of it. Upon that event, an intimate connection took place between the disciples of Moses and the disciples of Mahomet. It was cemented by their common hatred of the Christians, and subsisted till their common expulsion. This is one of the most brilliant epochas of Jewish literature, from the time of the destruction of Jerusalem.

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Even in the darkest ages of their history, they cultivated their language with assiduity, and were never without skilful grammarians, or subtle interpreters of Holy Writ. But, speaking generally, it was only during their union with the Saracens in Spain, and in the flourishing ages of the Caliphs of Bagdad, that they ventured into general literature, or used, in their writings, a foreign, and consequently in their conceptions, a profane language.

In the literature of the Jews, the *Targums* fill a considerable space. These are paraphrases, which, at different times, and by different hands, have been made, in the Chaldee language, of all the Hebrew parts of the Old Testament. They have various degrees of merit. What is called the Targum of Onkelos is confined to the Pentateuch, and is far better executed than any of the others. There are strong grounds for supposing, that all the Targums are subsequent to the Version of the Seventy.

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## II.

THE only instance, in which, before the birth of Christ, the Jews appear to have used a profane language, was in THE TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE MADE BY THE SEVENTY.

II. 1. With respect to the *Style:* It has been observed, that the policy of the Romans to extend, with the progress of their arms, the use of the Latin language, was attended with greater success in their western, than in their eastern conquests; so that, while the language of Rome was readily adopted in Africa, Spain, Gaul, and Pannonia, the Greeks preserved their language; and it continued to be spoken in their various colonies, from the Hadriatic to the Euphrates and the Nile, and in the numerous cities in Asia and Egypt, founded by the Macedonian kings. All of them abounded with Jews. They were

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known by the name of Grecian or Hellenistic Jews, from the application which the Jews made of the term Hellenistic, to describe them as residing in Grecian cities, and speaking the Greek language. Alexandria, upon many accounts, was, in regard to them, the capital of the countries they inhabited. By living among the Greeks, they naturally acquired their language; but they incorporated into it numberless words and phrases of their own. This must always be the case where foreigners acquire a language. It was so in a particular manner with the Jews, as they acquired the Greek language by practice rather than grammar and as they did not live promiscuously among the natives, but separately, in large communities, among themselves. Besides, they had a more than common reverence for the sacred book. It comprised all their religion, all their morality, all their history, all their politics, and whatever was most excellent of their poetry. It may, there-

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fore, be said to have contained all their language and its phrases. Unavoidably they would be led to adopt its idiom, even in their ordinary discourse, and to introduce it into their writings. The consequence was, that, always bearing in their minds the idiom of their mother tongue, they moulded the Greek words into Hebraic phrases, and sometimes even used words, which resembled certain Hebrew terms in their sound, in an Hebraic sense. The effect of this was the more striking, as no languages are more dissimilar than the Hebrew and the Greek; the copiousness and variety of the latter forming a strong contrast to the simplicity and penury of the former. Hence, when the Jews came to translate the Sacred Writings into Greek, their version carried, in every part of it, the strongest tincture of their native idiom: so that, though the words were Greek, the phraseology was, every where, Hebrew. This was greatly increased by the scrupu-

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lous, not to say superstitious, attachment of the Jews to the Holy Writings, by which they were led to translate them in the most servile manner. To this must be added, that the whole tenor of the Holy Writings relates to facts and circumstances peculiar, in many respects, to the chosen people. Besides,—the duties which they inculcate, and the sentiments they contain or raise, were unknown to the writers of Greece. In expressing them, therefore, the translators were often at a loss; and then, for want of a corresponding or equivalent word to convey their author's meaning fully, they were constrained to do the best they could, by approximation. The letter written by the German Jews, residing in England, to their foreign brethren, recommending Doctor Kennicott to their protection and assistance in his Biblical pursuits, inserted by him in his *Dissertatio Generalis*, (a valuable edition of which, with many additions, was published by Bruns, in octavo, at Bruns-



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wick, in 1783), is a curious specimen of the language of a Jew, when he attempts to express modern, and, in respect to him, foreign ideas, in the Hebrew language. One of the most striking peculiarities in the Greek Testament is, the total absence of the dual number. Mr. Marsh's observations on this singular circumstance, (see his note 67, to ch. 4. 55. of Michaelis), deserve great consideration.

II. 2. With respect to the *History of the Septuagint*, there scarcely is a subject of literature upon which more has been written, or of which less, with any degree of certainty, is known. The popular account of its being made in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, at the suggestion of Aristeas, and under the direction of Demetrius Phalereus, by seventy or seventy-two Jews, shut up in cells, appears to be generally exploded. The prevailing opinion is, that it was made at Alexandria, at different times, and by different interpreters; but

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that all of them were Jews. The Pentateuch, the book of Job, and the Proverbs, are the parts of the version most admired. The principal editions are,—Aldus's, published in 1518, from several manuscripts, with frequent glosses, and some mixtures from the other versions;—the Roman, published in 1587, from the Vatican manuscript, but not exactly, some readings of consequence having been transferred to it, and some chasms in it having been filled up, from other manuscripts;—Mr. Grabe's, printed at Oxford in 1707, from the famous Alexandrine Manuscript;—and Professor Breitinger's, published at Zurich, in Switzerland, in 1730—1732, in four volumes quarto. The last edition is particularly valuable, because it not only contains the text of Grabe's edition, or the Alexandrine Manuscript, but because, in the margin at the bottom of the page, it has the principal variations of the Roman edition of 1587, or the Vatican Manuscript. To these edi-

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tions should be added, the Complutensian, published in 1515. Dr. Owen says, that it adheres to no particular copy; but that, taking out of all, the readings which came nearest to the Hebrew text, it may be looked upon rather as a new translation, than the antient Greek version of the Seventy. Before him Monsieur Huet had observed, (*Dissertations Recueillis par Monsieur l'Abbé de Tilladet, Paris* 1712, vol. i. p. 473—475,) that, "when the version of "the Seventy was printed in the Bible of "Complutum, the Editors did not follow "the Antient Manuscripts of that version, "but altered the copy before them, from "citations in the writings of the fathers, so "that the text published by them was irre-"gular, confused, and made up of cita-"tions; and therefore, when at a subse-"quent time it came to be compared with "the Antient Manuscripts, which ought to "have been done by the Editors, it lost its "authority." The version of the Septua-

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gint is generally cited by the fathers. Respectable writers, as Salmasius, Bochart, Capellus, and Abarbanel, have asserted, that it was the text made use of by Josephus, in the composition of his Hebrew Antiquities: the contrary opinion is maintained by Dr. Hody, but he concedes that Josephus followed it on some occasions: and it seems generally admitted that it was always followed by Philo. That the Evangelists sometimes cite the version of the Seventy, even in places where it differs from the present Hebrew Text, is clear: but, as the writer of the critique on this Work in the British Review for December 1799 justly observes, " we must not therefore " conclude, that Christ himself quoted from " the Septuagint. He conversed with the " Jews of Palestine in the language of their " country, that is the Aramæan; his quo- " tations therefore were in that language; " and, if he did not use the words of an " established Targum, which however is

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" not improbable, he must be supposed to " have given his own Aramæan translation, " not of a Greek version, but of the Hebrew " original. On the other hand, in Greek " Gospels, written for the use of Greek " Christians, quotations from the Old Tes- " tament, even such as had been made by " Christ himself, were frequently delivered " in the words of the established Greek " version, in the same manner as an Eng- " lish translator, in rendering a German " theological work, would use the words of " the established English version of the " Bible, where the author had quoted that " of Luther." Monsieur Huet, (*de claris interpretibus*), observes, that the Asiatic Jews, whose metropolis was Babylon, used the Paraphrase of Onkelos; the western Jews, whose capital was Alexandria, used the version of the Septuagint; the Jews of Palestine used the Targum of Jerusalem.

It may not be improper, in this place, to observe, that it is by no means clear, what

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language was generally spoken in Palestine, in the time of our Saviour. Some, as de Rossi in Italy, and Pfankuche in Germany, maintain it was the Syriac or Aramæan; others, as Diodati of Naples, contend it was the Greek: a middle, and certainly a very probable opinion, is that of Professor Paulus, who, in his two Programmata, lately published at Jena, with the title, "*Verosimilia de Judeis Palestinensibus, Jesu* "*etiam atque Apostolis, non Aramæa dialecto* "*sed Græcâ quoque Aramæaizante, locutis,*" seems to prove, that, though the Aramæan was, at the time, the mother language of Palestine, the Greek, or Hebræo-Greek, was likewise so current in Galilee, and still more at Jerusalem, that our Saviour and his apostles, might, when they judged it best adapted to their purposes, employ it in their conversations or writings, equally with or in preference to the Syriac.

A splendid edition of the Septuagint is now preparing at Oxford, under the care

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of Dr. Holmes. It is an imitation of Doctor Kennicott's Bible, containing a collation, from manuscripts found in the different libraries, both in this country and on the continent. Those collations have, of course, in general been made, and the descriptions given, by persons resident in the several places, and Doctor Holmes has certainly employed, for this purpose, men of distinguished literary character. The first volume, comprizing the whole Pentateuch, is published, and presents a great number of various readings; the comparative claims of which to genuineness, we hope some future Griesbach will estimate: but it will be a most arduous task, on account of the probable intermixture of the other versions with that of the Septuagint. Doctor Holmes has also published *Daniel* in the Versions of Theodotion and the Seventy, with various readings of manuscripts, printed editions, fathers, and antient versions.—Something of the same

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comprehensive kind as Dr. Holmes's collation, should be attempted for the antient Latin versions; but this, on account of their variety, will be a still more arduous enterprize.

The Septuagint has always been of the highest authority in the church of Rome: but, in the middle ages, it was little known, and hardly ever used. It is the authentic version of the Greek church; the early Latin versions were generally translations from it. In many instances it differs materially from the Hebrew. In the Pentateuch, the version of the Seventy approaches nearer to the Samaritan, than to the Hebrew text. The difference between it and the Hebrew has not yet been accounted for on satisfactory grounds. At first, it was unfavourably received by the Jews. But the number of Hellenistic Jews increasing, and a Greek translation of the Sacred Writings being necessary for them, it came into use among them, and was sometimes used in the Synagogues in Judæa. The antient

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fathers generally referring to it in their controversies with the Jews, it grew out of favour with them: and some of the Talmudists have spoken of it, in the strongest terms of reprobation. They declare, that the day in which it was made, was as fatal to Israel, as that of the golden calf: that, in consequence of it, the earth was, for three days, covered with darkness; and an annual fast, on the 8th of December, was established.

II. 3. Connected with the history of the Septuagint is, *the History of the other Versions made of the Old Testament, from the Hebrew into Greek, in the early ages of Christianity*, and *the Biblical labours of Origen*. The first of these versions was made by *Aquila*, who from a Christian became a Jew, and was accused of designedly mistranslating those passages of the Old Testament, which establish the divine mission and character of Christ. He published two distinct translations; the first was free; the

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last and most in use, was servile. He was followed by *Symmachus*, whose translation is supposed to have been clear and elegant; and by *Theodotion*, whose translation was thought to be more liberal than the second of Aquila, but more strict than the version of Symmachus. A fifth, a sixth, and a seventh version of some parts of the Old Testament were made; the authors of them are unknown.

II. 4. *The Biblical labours of Origen* are known under the appellation of his Tetraples, Hexaples, Octaples, and Enneaples. The Tetraples contained, in four columns, the Greek versions of Aquila, Symmachus, the Seventy, and Theodotion. Having discovered two other versions, he added them to the Tetraples. They constituted together the Hexaples. By prefixing to them the Hebrew text, and transcribing it, in a separate column, in Greek letters, he increased them to Octaples. He afterwards added to them a separate version of the

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Psalms. With that, they are called his Enneaples. So that, the first column contained the Hebrew text in Hebrew letters; the second, the Hebrew in Greek letters; the third, the version of Aquila; the fourth, the version of Symmachus; the fifth, the Greek text of the Septuagint; the sixth, the version of Theodotion; the seventh, his fifth Greek edition; the eighth, his sixth Greek edition; the ninth, his last version of the Psalms.

In all his labours, he appears to have directed his attention principally to the Septuagint, with a view to make it conform to the Hebrew text. For this purpose, leaving the text itself of the Septuagint untouched, he shewed, by certain marks, the differences between it and the Hebrew text. His admirers and followers are accused of want of a similar respect for the text of the Septuagint; they are charged with altering the text itself, to make it conform to the Hebrew. If the charge be

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founded, there may be a wide difference between the present and the original text of the Septuagint; and the discovery of a manuscript anterior to the time of Origen, or bearing evident marks of expressing the original text of such a manuscript, would be an invaluable acquisition.

## III.

III. 1. This leads to THE BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. Most probably all of them were originally written in Greek, except the Gospel of St. Matthew, and the Epistle of St. Paul to the Hebrews. The *Style* of the writers has a considerable affinity with that of the Septuagint version; but it is much more free from Hebraisms, and approaches somewhat nearer to the Greek idiom: in each, however, the Hebrew phraseology is discernible. To mention some particulars,—in each, the same use is made of the double substantive, to

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supply the Jewish want of adjectives, as "kingdom and glory" to express a "glo-"rious kingdom;" "mouth and wisdom" to express a "wise discourse." In each, the words, "of God," are used to denote the superlative degree, in comparison; as "the mountains of God" and "the cedars "of God" for "very high mountains" and "very high cedars." In each, we observe the difficulty, and, on many occasions, the impracticability of accommodating the conjugations of the Hebrew language to the Greek modes and voices, and the Hebrew connectives to the Greek particles and prepositions. But, besides a peculiarity of style, from the perpetual recurrence of Jewish phraseology, the New Testament has, in common with the Old, the leading features of the Oriental style of instruction,—short aphoristic sentences, and frequent use of allegory and parable. In each, extreme simplicity of phrase is joined, throughout, to extreme boldness and pomp

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of imagery; and both are rendered the more striking by their proximity. This is frequently seen in the most familiar discourses recorded of Christ by the Evangelists. Even in the Sermon on the Mount, the subject and the simile are often united in a manner which the nations of the West have never employed out of poetry. In these, and in many other instances, a considerable degree of similitude is discoverable between the Greek of the Septuagint, and the Greek of the New Testament: in some respects, however, the Greek of the New Testament has strong peculiarities.

III. 2. One of the most striking of these was a consequence of the *Rabbinical doctrines* and disputes, which, at the time of Christ's mission, prevailed in Judæa. Notwithstanding the unsocial temper and habits of the Jews, and their decided aversion from intercommunity with strangers, it was impossible that such numbers of them should inhabit the cities of Greece, without im-

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bibing something of the literary and inquisitive spirit of that people. The consequence was, that they gave into a variety of disputes. The principal sects, into which they were divided, were those of the *Pharisees* and the *Sadducees*. The former had subsisted one hundred and fifty years before the birth of Christ: they gave too much to tradition, and deluged the plain simplicity of the Mosaic law in a multitude of scriptural glosses and comments. They affected great austerity of morals, and practised numberless superstitions. They held the chief offices in church and state, and had the greatest influence over the common people. The Sadducees were a more ancient sect: they were distinguished by their adherence to the word of the Sacred Writings, interpreting it always in its most literal sense, and rejecting, with contempt, all traditionary reasonings and observances. But at the same time that they professed a strict, not to say a bigoted, adherence to the Law

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of Moses, they held, by a strange contradiction, the loosest opinions. They denied a future state, and, as far as is consistent with any belief in the Holy Writings, were Epicureans both in practice and theory. In opposition to the Pharisees, who inclined to fatalism, they maintained the freedom of the human will. They avoided interfering in public concerns, and were few in number, but of the highest quality. The *Scribes* had originally their name from transcribing, or making copies of the Law. By degrees, they became the expounders of it. They may be considered as the public teachers of the Jewish theology. Like all others, who held offices, or interfered in public concerns, they were under the guidance, and obliged to profess the principles and imitate the manners, of the Pharisees. The *Herodians* were not so much a religious as a political sect, attached to Herod, during his life, and to his sons, after his decease.



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Herod, whether an Idumæan by birth, or descended, as many suppose, from one of the Jewish families, who returned from the Babylonish captivity, unquestionably belonged to a family which had long professed the Jewish religion, and was ranked among the tribe of Judah. But he seems to have had neither external reverence, nor internal respect, for the religious institutions of his country. He built temples in the Grecian taste; erected statues for idolatrous worship; adopted, in his ordinary habits of life, Roman manners and Roman usages; and, in his public capacity, was absolutely devoted and subservient to Roman politics. This brought upon him the hatred of the Pharisees, who were zealously attached to the independence of their country, and bore the Roman yoke with the utmost indignation. But many of the Jews, particularly of the Sadducees, embraced his politics, and, on that account, received from

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their countrymen the name of Herodians; an appellation, in the general notion of the Jews, of the highest contumely.

*The Essens* differed from all the sects we have mentioned, as they estranged themselves not only from politics and public affairs, but, as much as the nature of man and the constitution of society admit, from the common concerns and intercourse of private life. "They held," says the Bishop of Dromore, "1st, that God was surrounded "by Demons or Angels, who were media- "tors with God, and therefore to be wor- "shipped: 2. that the soul is defiled by the "body; that all bodily enjoyments hurt "the soul, which they believed to be im- "mortal, though they seem to have denied "the resurrection of the Body, as it would "only render the soul sinful by being re- "united to it. 3. That there was a great "mystery in numbers, particularly in the "number, seven: they therefore attributed "a natural holiness to the seventh or sab-

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" bath day, which they observed more " strictly than the other Jews. They spent " their time mostly in contemplation; ab- " stained from marriage and every gratifi- " cation of the senses." They were divided into classes, were governed by superiors, and were chiefly employed in agriculture.

The principal points in dispute, among the sects we have mentioned, respected the law of Moses, the immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the body, future rewards and punishments, and the nature of virtue. All admitted the divine authority of the law of Moses: the Pharisees added to it, a body of traditionary law, which, they said, was equally of divine authority and entitled to equal respect: this traditionary law was wholly rejected by the Sadducees and Essens. According to the Pharisees, the sacred text had a double sense; one, expressed by the plain natural meaning of the words; the other, enveloped in their mysterious import. The Sadducees rigidly

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adhered to the natural meaning of the words: the Essens contended, that the words of the law, in their natural meaning, were void of all power; and that the things, expressed by them, were images of holy and celestial objects; they professed to renounce the outward letter, and to consider the law as an allegorical system of spiritual and mysterious truth. The Sadducees denied the resurrection and a future life; the Pharisees believed in the immortality of the soul, and a future state of rewards and punishments, which extended both to soul and body; the Essens believed in the immortality of the soul, and in a future state of rewards and punishments; but maintained that they extended to the soul alone. The Pharisees courted popular applause by an ostentation of public sanctity, and a rigid attention to the ceremonies of the written and traditionary law. The Sadducees treated the sanctity and ceremonies of the Pharisees with contempt, as marks of weakness and

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superstition, and rested their own claim to respect on good actions and elegant manners. The Essens placed religion in contemplative indolence, which they thought debased by any social attachment to man. The doctrines of the Pharisees were popular with the multitude, those of the Sadducees with the great. The Essens were little known out of their own communities. It is observable that while the Gospel abounds with reproofs of the Pharisees and Sadducees, the Essens are not once named in it: but it is supposed that St. Paul, in his first Epistle to Timothy, and his Epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians, often refers to them.

III. 3. It deserves attention that Michaelis, *(Intr. Vol. III. Part I.* § 2, 3, 4, 5*)*, and other German writers have shown, that some passages, both of the Old and New Testament, and particularly the first Chapter of St. John's Gospel, refer to the tenets of the *Gnostics and Sabians.* The former were a

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species of Manichæans, who existed in the east, long before the birth of Christ; and several of their errors were fancifully accommodated by some of the earliest Christians to the second person of the Trinity, and the mysteries of the Incarnation and Passion.—The principal error of the latter, was, that they ascribed to St. John the Baptist, a greater authority, than to Christ. Michaelis contends, that, St. John the Evangelist begins his Gospel with a series of aphorisms, as counterpositions to the doctrine of these heretics, and afterwards relates several speeches and miracles of Christ, which the truth of these aphorisms pointedly confirms. The whole passage deserves the reader's serious attention.

Such was the state of the religious sects among the Jews at the time of the birth of our Saviour. The Rabbins, or the teachers of each sect, defended their tenets with the greatest zeal and pertinacity.

III. 4. All of them, however, agreed in

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thinking that their religious tenets and observances were the only objects worthy of their attention. It followed, that their literary controversies, instead of embracing, like those of the philosophical sects of the Pagans, the wide circle of general literature, *were directed and confined to their religion and religious institutions*, and were exhausted in questions and discussions immediately, or remotely, referrible to those objects. They were sometimes striking by their refinement and abstruseness, but were often idle and visionary. These religious contentions necessarily produced a considerable effect on the language of the Jews; and, whether they expressed themselves in Greek or in Hebrew, led them to adopt new terms and expressions. These, which may be called Rabbinisms, frequently occur in the New Testament.

III. 5. Another peculiarity of the language of the New Testament, is its *occasional Latinism*. This was originally owing

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to their political subserviency to the Romans. The celebrated prophecy of Jacob (Gen. xlix. 10.) had foretold, "that the "sceptre should not depart from Judah, "nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until "the Shiloh should come." Both antient and modern Jews agree, that the Messiah was designed by the Shiloh. When the Assyrian monarch led the ten tribes of Israel into captivity, the sceptre departed from *them*, and the lawgiver from *their* feet. But, when the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin were carried captives to Babylon, they were permitted to live as a distinct people, under their own rulers and governors: and we find, that Cyrus ordered the vessels of the temple to be delivered to the Prince of Judah; 1 Esdras i. 8. Thus the sceptre and the lawgiver were preserved to Judah, and remained to him, till Judæa was reduced to a Roman province. The first interference of the Romans, as conquerors, in the affairs of Judæa, was in con-

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sequence of their conquest of Syria. From that time, they appointed the High Priests. Still, though they changed the order of succession at their pleasure, they uniformly confined their choice to one of the sacerdotal family. In other respects, they left the Jews in the full possession, both of their civil and ecclesiastical government, till the death of Archelaus, the immediate successor of Herod. The year after his death, they reduced Judæa into a Roman province. Then it was, that the power of life and death was taken from the Jews, and justice was, from that time, administered in the name and by the laws of Rome. Then, therefore, but not till then, the sceptre departed from *Judah*, and the lawgiver from *his* feet. The precise year, when this event happened, it may be difficult to ascertain: but the judicial forms, professed to be observed on the trial and condemnation of our Saviour, and the exclamation of the Jews, "we have no king but Cæsar," irrefragably

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shew, that it had then arrived.—It may easily be conceived what effect the overpowering influence and dominion of Rome would have, both on the written and the spoken language of Judæa.

III. 6. The New Testament abounds also with expressions introduced into it, in consequence of the unavoidable *intercourse of the Jews with their Asiatic, Syrian, and Arabian neighbours.* It is observable, that here, as in most other instances, where Asia is spoken of, with a reference to the New Testament, the word denotes a very small part of the territory generally included under that denomination. It denotes, in its largest sense, the continent of the world, on the eastern front of Europe; in a less large sense, the great peninsula between the Pontus Euxinus, or the Black Sea, and the Mediterranean; in a more confined sense, the proconsular Asia, or the Asia Propria of Ptolemy, comprising Lydia, Ionia, Caria, Mysia, Phrygia, and the proconsular Hel-

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lespont: but, in the New Testament, it generally denotes a still narrower tract of country,—that part only of the proconsular Asia, which comprises the country of Ephesus and Lydia. In many parts of this country the Jews settled: and the industry of commentators has traced in some parts of the Epistles of St. Paul, certain marks of the Cilician dialect. In other instances they have traced the language of Persia, Arabia, and particularly of Syria.

III. 7. It should also be observed, that, *among the Jews themselves, there was a considerable difference of dialect.* The first division of the country was that by Joshua, of the whole land of Canaan among the twelve tribes. To this, a total end was put, by the destruction of the ten tribes by Salmanasar, and of the two remaining tribes by Nebuchadnezzar. After the return of the Jews from their captivity in Babylon, and at least as early as their government under the Asmonæan princes, the nation was distin-

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guished by a fourfold distinction. The first was Judæa, including Idumæa; the second, was Samaria; the third, was Galilæa, distinguished into the Galilæa Superior, or the parts bordering on Phœnicia and Syria, and the Galilæa Inferior, comprising Tiberias, Nazareth, Caphernaum, the Itabyrian Mountain, and the Decapolis; the fourth, was Peræa, which comprised, with some increase, the portion of the promised Land, occupied by the tribes of Ruben and Gad. All of them were under the government of Herod the Great. Upon his death, Augustus allotted Judæa, Idumæa and Samaria, to his son Archelaus, under the title of Ethnarch; Galilæa and Peræa, to Herod Antipas, another of his sons, under the title of Tetrarch; and Ituræa, and Trachonitis, and the greatest part of the country beyond the Jordan, to Philip, his other son, under the same title. Some time afterwards, Archelaus and Herod Antipas were banished, and the territories in their governments were reduced into a

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Roman province. On the death of Philip, the territory in his government was added to the proconsulate of Syria. Each of these divisions had its own provincial dialect. The speech of Peter, when Christ appeared before the tribunal of Caiphas, betrayed him to be a Galilæan. But a difference of dialect was the slightest of the many points of difference between the *Samaritans* and the general body of the Jews. They were of a different origin; the Samaritans being a mixed body of people, chiefly Cuthites, but all of heathenish extraction, sent by the king of Assyria to repeople the kingdom of the ten tribes, whom he had carried into banishment. Some time after their arrival in the land of Israel, they embraced the worship of the true God, and built a temple to his honour on mount Gerizim, asserting against the Jews, that it was the place consecrated by God himself to his worship. It is supposed, that they worshipped several heathen deities in conjunction with the true

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God. Religious hatred seems never to have been carried further than it was between the Jews and the Samaritans. They admitted the divine authority of the Pentateuch, but rejected the other books of the Old Testament.

The Samaritan Pentateuch has been a subject of much discussion. Care must be taken to distinguish between the Pentateuch in the Hebrew language, but in the letters of the Samaritan alphabet, and the version of the Pentateuch, in the Samaritan language. One of the most important differences between the Samaritan and the Hebrew text, respects the duration of the period between the deluge and the birth of Abraham. The Samaritan text makes it longer by some centuries than the Hebrew text; and the Septuagint makes it longer by some centuries than the Samaritan. It is observable, that, in her authentic translation of the Latin Vulgate, the Roman Catholic Church follows the computation ex-

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pressed in the Hebrew text: and in her Martyrology, follows that of the Seventy. See an excellent Dissertation, by Father Tournemine, *De Annis Patriarcharum*, at the end of his edition of Menochius, 2 vol. fol. Paris. 1719. The arguments of Don Pezron (*l'Antiquité des Temps retablie*, and *Defense de l'Antiquité des Temps*), in favour of the Chronology of the Septuagint, are very strong, and are countenanced by every probable system of the chronology of oriental nations. A shorter period, than that of the Septuagint, is scarcely reconcileable with their chronology.

Such was the general state of the Jews, as far as it may be supposed to have influenced their language, at the time of the arrival of Christ. Whatever influence it had on their language when they expressed themselves in Hebrew, the same, and not in a less degree, it had on it, when they expressed themselves in Greek.

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## IV.

THE Biblical labours of Origen and St. Jerom are well known, and are mentioned in these observations. FROM THE DEATH OF ST. JEROM, TO THE REVIVAL OF LETTERS UNDER THE PONTIFICATE OF LEO THE Xth, a period of about one thousand years, now comes under consideration.

IV. 1. The comparatively *low state of literature, and of the arts and sciences, during this middle age*, must be acknowledged; but justice claims our gratitude to the venerable body of men, who strove against the barbarism of the times, and to whose exertions we principally owe the precious remains of sacred or prophane antiquity, which survived that calamitous æra. For whatever has been preserved to us of the writers of Greece or Rome; for all we know of the language of those invaluable writers; for all the monuments of our holy religion;



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for the sacred writings which contain the word of God; and for the traditions of the wise and the good respecting it, we are almost wholly indebted, under providence, to the zeal and exertions of the priests and monks of the church of Rome, during the middle age. If, during this period, there were a decay of taste and learning, it is wholly to be ascribed to the general ruin and devastation, brought on the Christian world, by the inroads and conquests of the barbarians, and the other events, which were the causes or consequences, of the decline and fall of the Roman empire. Besides, while we admit and lament, we should not exaggerate, the literary degradation of the times we speak of. Biblical literature, the immediate subject of the present inquiry, was by no means entirely neglected. Dr. Hody, in his most learned *Historia Scholastica Hebraici Textus Versionumque Græcæ et Latinæ Vulgatæ*, places this circumstance beyond the reach of controversy. He proves,

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that there never was a time, even in the darkest ages, when the study of the original language of the Holy Writings was wholly neglected. In England alone, the works of Venerable Bede, Holy Robert of Lincoln, and Roger Bacon, shew how greatly it was prized and pursued there.

IV. 2. Copies of works were not then multiplied, at the party's will, by the instantaneous operation of the press. They were transcribed by the labour of individuals, a task of infinite pains and perseverance, and to which, (for gain was out of the question), nothing but the conscientious and unwearied *industry of a religious copyist* was equal. To this Gerhardus Tychsen, professor of philosophy and oriental literature, formerly at Butzow, now at Rostock, (the two Universities of Butzow and Rostock being united), in his *Tentamen de variis Codicum Hebræorum Veteris Testamenti MSS. Rostockii*, 1772, bears ample testimony. He observes, that all manuscripts of the Maso-

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rah, with figures of dragons, sphinxes, bears, hogs, or any other of the unclean animals; all manuscripts of the Testament, with the Vulgate translation, or corrected to it, or corrected to the Septuagint version; all manuscripts, not written with black ink, or in which there are words written in gold letters, or where the words or the margin are illuminated; and all manuscripts, where the word Adonai is written instead of the word Jehovah, were written by Christians, and not by Jews. "I am sensible," says he, "that it is the general opinion, that the "study of the fine arts was buried during "the middle ages. It is not, however, less "certain, that, while during many ages, li- "terature was crushed every where else, she "found a refuge in monasteries. From un- "exceptionable evidence, it may be shewn, "that, while some of the monks applied "themselves to the study of divinity, medi- "cine, or dialectic, others made themselves "thoroughly acquainted with the Hebrew

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" language, in order to confound the Jews, " in their disputes with them, by producing " the original text: others, (of whom some " were proselytes from the Jewish religion), " attained the highest skill in Calligraphy, " and copied Hebrew manuscripts."—" I " cannot deny," he says in another part of his work, " that in Spain, formerly the pa- " radise and nursery of monks, calligraphy " arrived at its summit of excellence, parti- " cularly in monasteries. The Jews, with " whom Spain at that time abounded, ap- " pear to have learnt it from them. In " proof of this assertion, I may appeal to " some Hebrew manuscripts, which I my- " self have seen, where the letters through- " out are so equal, that the whole has the " appearance of print. Frequently, after " reflecting on this singular circumstance, " I have been inclined to think, that the " monks, who cultivated the study of Cal- " ligraphy with great eagerness, had the " forms of all the letters of the alphabet,

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" impressed into or engraved out of thin " plates; that whole pages or columns of " these plates were placed under the parch- " ment or vellum, on which it was intended " to write, so that, by drawing a pencil over " them, the monks were able to produce " this surprising equality of letters; or, it " may have been that the shapes or forms " of the letters were first imprinted upon " the parchment or vellum, and afterwards " filled up." The monks of England equally excelled in sacred Calligraphy. " There was " not one religious person at Woolstrop, but " that he could and did use, either embro- " thering, writing book with very fair hand, " making their own garments, carving, paint- " ing or graffing." *Strype's Memoirs*, vol. i. 255. Such is the acknowledged merit of the monks as transcribers of the Holy Writings.

IV. 3. *The Jews bestowed on the copies made by them*, even an excess of care. It has been a constant rule with them, that, whatever is considered as corrupt, shall

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never be used, but shall be burnt, or otherwise destroyed. A book of the law, wanting but one letter, with one letter too much, or with an error in one single letter, written with any thing but ink, or written on parchment made of the hide of an unclean animal, or on parchment not purposely prepared for that use, or prepared by any but an Israelite, or on skins of parchment tied together by unclean strings, shall be holden to be corrupt: that no word shall be written, without a line first drawn on the parchment; no word written by heart, or without having been first pronounced orally by the writer: that, before he writes the name of God, he shall wash his pen; that no letter shall be joined to another; and that, if the blank parchment cannot be seen all around each letter, the roll shall be corrupt. There are settled rules for the length and breadth of each sheet, and for the space to be left between each letter, each word, and each section. These Maimonides mentions, as

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some of the principal rules to be observed in copying the sacred rolls. Even to this day, it is an obligation on the persons who copy the Sacred Writings, for the use of the Synagogue, to observe them. Those who have not seen the rolls, used in the Synagogues, can have no conception of the exquisite beauty, correctness and equality of the writing.

## V.

But the attention of the Jews was by no means confined to the writing of the copies of the Holy Word; they made almost incredible exertions to preserve the GENUINENESS AND INTEGRITY OF THE TEXT.

V. 1. This produced what has been termed the *Masorah*, the most stupendous monument in the whole history of literature, of minute and persevering labour. The persons who were employed in it, and

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who afterwards received from it the name of Masorites, were some Jewish literati, who flourished after the commencement of the Christian æra. With a reverential, not to say superstitious attention, of which history does not furnish an instance, to be urged in comparison with it, they counted all the verses, words, and letters, of all the twenty-four books of the Old Testament, and of each of those twenty-four books, and of every section of each book, and of all its subdivisions. "The matter of the *Massora*," says Mr. Lewis, in his *Origines Hebrææ*, *vol. iv. p.* 156, "consists in critical "remarks upon the verses, words, letters, "and vowel points of the Hebrew text. "The Massorets were the first who distin- "guished the books and sections of books "into verses, and marked the number of "the verses, and of the words and letters "in each verse; the verses, where they "thought there was something forgot; the "words, which they believed to be changed;

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" the letters, which they thought super-
" fluous; the repetitions of the same verses;
" the different reading the words which are
" redundant or defective; the number of
" times that the same word is found in the
" beginning, middle, or end of a verse; the
" different significations of the same word;
" the agreement or conjunction of one word
" with another; the number of words that
" are printed above; which letters are pro-
" nounced, and which are turned upside
" down; and such as hang perpendicular;
" and took the number of each; it was they,
" in short, who invented the vowel points,
" the accents, and made divers critical re-
" marks upon the punctuation, and abun-
" dance of other things of equal import-
" ance."

" A great part of the labour of these
" Jewish Doctors consisted in counting the
" letters of the Hebrew text; and the letter
" Nun in the word Gehon, is in the Tal-
" mud observed to be in the very middle of

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" the Pentateuch. Father Simon gives an " account of a manuscript copy, which he " saw, where that part of the Massora that " belonged to the letters, was to this pur- " pose. " There are twelve parscioths, or " great sections, in Genesis: there are forty- " three of those which are called sedarim, " or orders: there are one thousand five " hundred and thirty-four verses, twenty " thousand seven hundred and thirteen " words, seventy-eight thousand one hun- " dred letters; and the midst of the book " consists in these words, Ve al harbeka " tihieh, in chap. xxvii. ver. 40. There are " five points (these are points made on the " top of some letters mentioned by St. Je- " rom). Exodus has eleven parscioths, " thirty-three sedarim, one thousand two " hundred and nine verses, sixteen thou- " sand five hundred and thirteen words, " sixty-three thousand four hundred and " sixty-seven letters; and these words, Elo- " him lo tekallel, in chap. xxii. ver. 27. are

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" in the very middle of this book. There are
" in Leviticus ten parscioths, twenty-five se-
" darim, eight hundred and fifty-nine verses,
" eleven thousand nine hundred and two
" words, forty-four thousand nine hundred
" and eighty-nine letters; and these words,
" Vehannogia bibesar, in chap. xv. ver. 7.
" are the middle words. There are in Num-
" bers ten parscioths, thirty-three sedarim,
" one thousand two hundred and eighty-
" eight verses, sixteen thousand seven hun-
" dred and seven words, sixty-two thousand
" five hundred and twenty-nine letters; and
" these words, Ve haia-is asher ebehar, in
" chap. xvii. ver. 20. are the middle words.
" There are in Deuteronomy ten parscioths,
" thirty-one sedarim, nine hundred and fifty-
" five verses, sixteen thousand three hun-
" dred and ninety-four words, fifty-four
" thousand eight hundred and ninety-two
" letters; and the middle words of this book
" are, Ve ascita alpi hadavar, in chap. xvii.
" ver. 10."

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Such is the celebrated Masorah of the Jews. Originally it did not accompany the text: afterwards the greatest part of it was written in the margin. To bring it into the margin, it was necessary to abridge the work itself. This abridgment was called the *Masorah Parva.* Being found too short, a more copious abridgment of it was inserted. This, in contradistinction to the other Masorah, was called the *Masorah Magna.*. The omitted parts were added at the end of the text, and this was called the *Masorah Finalis.*

V. 2. In the Jewish manuscripts and printed editions, a word is often found with a small circle annexed to it, or with an asterisk over it, and a word written in the margin of the same line. The former is called the *Kethibh*, the latter the *Keri.* In these, much mystery has been discovered by the Masorites. Some have supposed them coeval with the text; and that they were communicated, verbally, by Moses

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himself: so that he instructed the people generally, and the Levites, his own people, in particular, that the word he had written in such a manner, should be understood in such another manner, and communicated his reasons for it. This, they say, came by oral tradition to the Masorites, who committed it to writing. The prevailing opinion is, that they are partly various readings, collected from the time of Esdras, and partly critical observations, or, as they have been called, insinuations, of the Masorites, to substitute proper or regular for improper and irregular, and sometimes decent for indecent expressions, in the text. It is observable, that none of them occur in the prophecy of Malachi.

## VI.

The next care of the Jews was to ascertain and fix the pronunciation. With this view they invented the *Vowel Points*. To

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understand this, it may be proper to observe, that every language necessarily consists of those sounds, which are produced by the mere act of opening the mouth, and which are, therefore, called vowels; and of those, which are produced both by opening the mouth, and by particular application of its three principal organs, the lips, the teeth, and the tongue; and which, from the joint operation necessary to produce them, are called consonants. In most languages, the marks or signs, made use of in writing, to denote the vowel sounds, do not exceed five. But each of these is susceptible of the different inflections of the grave, the slender, and the close; and those require a still further subdivision. Now the natural, or, as they may be termed, the original sounds of the vowels, may be taught by precept; but their further modes, or at least the application of those modes, can only be acquired by practice. The consequence has been, that, in every language, the marks

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or signs used to denote the vowel sounds, by no means reach all their inflections, or shew their particular application. The object of the vowel points, was to fix a written symbol of every sound, which the Hebrew vowels assumed in pronunciation, and to ascertain the particular sound, which each vowel should have in the syllable or place where it was used; so that a reader might find the exact sound by his eye, without any resort to usage, or any necessity for further instruction, than what a complete knowledge of the vowel points furnished. In the Hebrew alphabet, the vowel characters were but three, the Aleph, the Vau, and the Jod, corresponding to the A, the U, and the I, of the Romans. These, from the assistance they gave to the enunciation of a vast variety of words, were called the *matres lectionis*, or the mothers of reading. But they sufficed to denote a very small number only, of the many vowel sounds. Besides,—there are many words in Hebrew,

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which consists entirely of consonants; and of which, therefore, without the assistance of vowels, there could be no enunciation. To remedy this inconvenience, the Masorites invented the vowel points. They first settled the sounds of each of the *matres lectionis*, and laid down general rules to fix the positions, where they should be sounded, and where they should be silent. They then appropriated to their purpose two symbols, the point and the straight line. These they multiplied and combined, both separately and together, into a variety of positions and forms, and assigned to each of them the sound of a particular vowel. Thus, leaving nothing to be acquired by use, or even by oral instruction, (except so far as it extended to the doctrines of the vowel points), they established a corresponding and appropriate sign for all the vowel sounds in the Hebrew language, and all their inflections and modifications. At first view, it must be thought, that the effect of



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the Masorah in preserving the integrity of the text of the Hebrew, and the effect of the vowel points in ascertaining and fixing its pronunciation, must have been very great. But several writers of great biblical name have absolutely and explicitly denied their utility. They assert both to be a modern invention; that the Masorah has only served to perpetuate the corruptions and imperfections of the text; and that the application of the vowel points to the pronunciation of the language, is a work of useless labour, and involves the learner in a maze of perplexing and disheartening difficulty. The Jews themselves have never admitted the vowel points into the rolls or manuscripts used for religious worship, in their Synagogues; and some of their ablest and most intelligent writers have joined in the opinion, that they are a modern invention, and that, so far from facilitating, they perplex and increase the difficulty of the pronunciation of the Hebrew. Few literary

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controversies have been agitated with more learning, or greater warmth. Capellus was first in time, and certainly among the first in learning and ability, who contested the antiquity and utility of the Masorah, and the vowel points: they had strenuous defenders in the two Buxtorfs. In the opinion of many writers of the first eminence, (among whom are reckoned Houbigant, L'Advocat, the late Bishop Lowth, Dr. Kennicott, and Dr. Geddes), the victory is decided in favour of Capellus. Still, however, some writers of respectability are strenuous advocates in their favour.

The rejection of the vowel points made it necessary to substitute something of equal power in their room. Here Capellus was at a loss: but, some time after the beginning of the present century, Monsieur Masclef, a Canon of Amiens, found a substitute for them. He considered the Aleph, He, Vau, Jod, Heth, and Ain, to be the original Hebrew vowels. These he directed to be pro-

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nounced, wherever they occurred: and, when two or more consonants followed, without any of these supposed vowel letters, he directed, that, after each of the consonants, that vowel should be sounded, which is its auxiliary sound in the alphabet; as an E after a Beth; an I after a Ghimel; an U after a Nun; and an A after a Thau. Modern writers have improved on this system, by supposing the Ain of the Hebrew alphabet to correspond to the Roman O. This makes the number of Hebrew vowels complete. To explain the two systems more clearly, the following English characters, supplied with Hebrew points, as below,

Gv, s, ths d r dl brd,

render, as nearly as the sounds of the two languages admit, the petition in our Lord's Prayer, "Give us this day our daily bread." The same letters, read after the Masclefian system, would be pronounced, Give sa thas da re dala bered. It must be admitted, that, if the pronunciation of

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the Hebrew, according to the vowel points, be the right pronunciation, the pronunciation of them, according to the Masclefian system, is miserably defective. But it is absolutely denied, by the advocates for the Masclefian system, that the pronunciation, according to the vowel points, is the true pronunciation. A concise statement of the arguments for and against the vowel points, may be found in Houbigant's preface to his *Racines Hebraiques, Paris* 1732. Those, who wish to investigate the subject further, must have recourse to the writings of Capellus, and the two Buxtorfs, who, though first in the controversy, completely exhausted the subject.

It should be added, that Masclef never thought of restoring the pronunciation of the living language: he knew the attempt to be desperate; and its impracticability was his defence. Giving up, therefore, the original pronunciation as irrecoverable, he carried his views no further, than to devise

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some mode of pronunciation, easily to be acquired, by which the reader of the Hebrew might give some utterance, right or wrong, it mattered not, to every word. He admitted, that his own was a false pronunciation: but he contended, that the Masoritic was equally false, and that the sort of falsehood which obtained in his, was far less mischievous than that of the Masoritic.

However, few of those who disregard the vowel points, at this time, follow Masclef entirely. When a vowel is to be supplied between two consonants, (which is not always necessary), some make it a rule to sound between them an ă or an ĕ: others, whichever of the five vowels unites best with the letters of the word. The latter mode produces a tolerably good pronunciation, if care be taken to sound the supplied vowels short, and the original vowels of the alphabet, when they occur, long. To acquire a consummate knowledge of the vowel points, and of the rules for their ap-

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plication, and to be able to pronounce the Hebrew language, according to them, readily, is an arduous undertaking. Extreme perfection is seldom attained in it, by a person not born and educated a Jew. But some progress in it is necessary, even to a moderate knowledge of the language. The vowel points form a sort of cypher, conveying to those, who will take the pains to understand it, a perpetual comment upon the sacred text of the Old Testament, by the Jewish literati.

Doctor Semler, (*Apparatus ad liberalem V.T. interpretationem, Halæ* 1773), expresses this very forcibly: *Jus fas non est, temere projicere atque negligere ista interpretum publica ministeria; sed nec Judaico stupore et vanâ religione nostros implere decet.*

## VII.

VII. 1. An attention to the study of the language, naturally produces a desire to be acquainted with the HISTORY OF THE

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JEWS. The Sacred Writings, which compose the Old Testament, lead the reader to the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity, and their wars under the Asmonæan princes: thus far also the works of Flavius Josephus accompany him; thence they lead him on to the time of their final dispersion.

Few parts of ancient history are less attended to, than that which comprehends the period of time, which intervened between the return of the Jews from the captivity, and the birth of Christ. Yet, on many accounts, it deserves particular attention.

Year of the World.

By the decree of Cyrus, Zerubbabel, the prince or chief of the Jews, was sent to rebuild the temple in . . . . . 3469

Joshua, son of Josedeck, lineally descended from Aaron, was at that time high priest; and the priest

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hood remained in his family, till it was assumed by Judas Macchabæus, and by that means passed into the family of the Asmonæans. This was a period of 369 years . . . . . 3838

It continued in the Asmonæan family, till they were destroyed by Herod—a period of 129 years. In the last year of his reign Christ was born . . . . . 3967

The three following genealogical Tables will serve to explain this period.

The first is a genealogical account of the high priests, who, after the captivity, officiated in the temple built by Zerubbabel, or, as it is generally called, the Second Temple;—from him, it is entitled *Stemmata Zerubbabellano-Pontificia.*

The second is a genealogical Table of the Macchabæan, or, as they are more properly called, the Asmonæan princes;—from them, it is entitled *Stemmata Asmonæana.*

The third is a genealogical Table of He-

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rod's family;—from his Idumæan extraction, it is entitled *Stemmata Idumæana.*

It should be observed, that they contain the names of those persons only, of whom particular mention is made, in the Jewish history, and of those, through whom the descent to them is deduced: so that, except in this point of view, the Stemmata produced here are very incomplete. Those who wish to see them at full length, will find them in Anderson's *Royal Genealogies.* The Idumæan pedigree is excellently stated in Relandus's *Palestina,* in the second volume of Brotier's *Tacitus,* and more at length in Noldius's *Historia Idumæa,* published in Havercamp's edition of Josephus.

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Josedeck, the first of the high priests mentioned in the *Stemmata Zerubbabellano-Pontificia*, was high priest when the captivity began. His son assisted Zerubbabel in rebuilding the Temple. Eliashib was contemporary with Artaxerxes Longimanus, called in Scripture, Ahasuerus, who married Esther the adopted daughter of Mordecai. Johannan slew his brother Jesus.

Manasseh, their brother, retired to Samaria, and built the Temple on mount Gerizim.

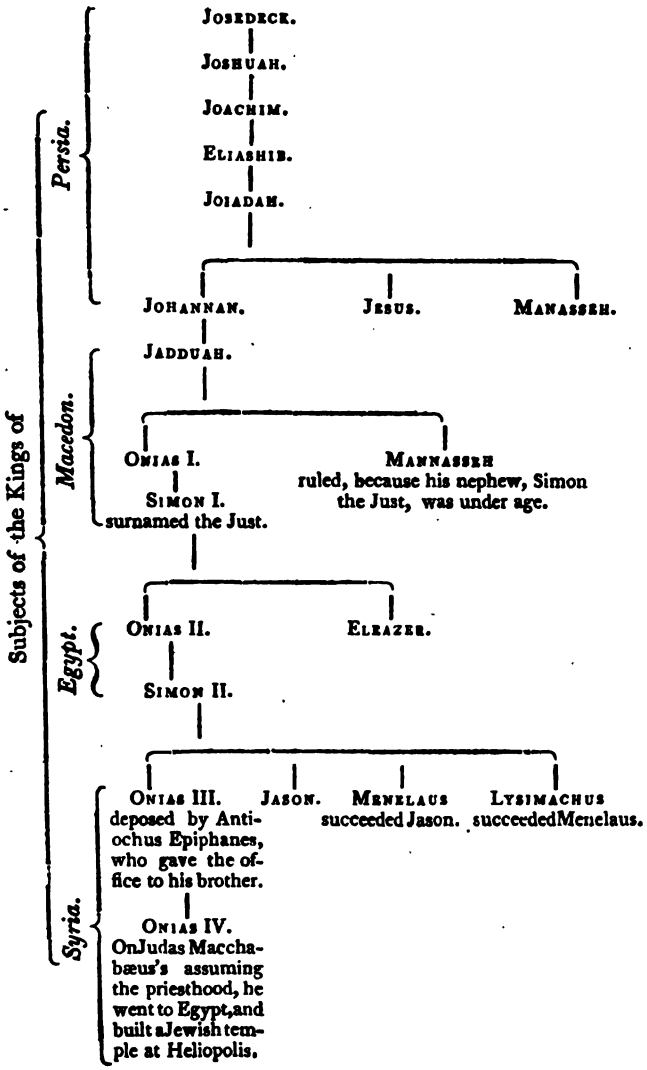
In the time of the priesthood of Jadduah, Alexander passed into Asia, and put an end to the Persian empire, by the victories he obtained over Darius. The Jews thereupon became subjects of the kings of Macedon. This was in 3670. They continued such, till, in 3700, Ptolemy Soter declared himself king of Egypt; and then they became a part of his subjects. In

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3806, Antiochus Magnus, king of Syria, defeated the Egyptian army in the battle of Paneas, and seized all Cœle-Syria and Palestine. The Jews then became subjects of the kings of Syria.

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## STEMMATA ZERUBBABELLANO-PONTIFICIA.



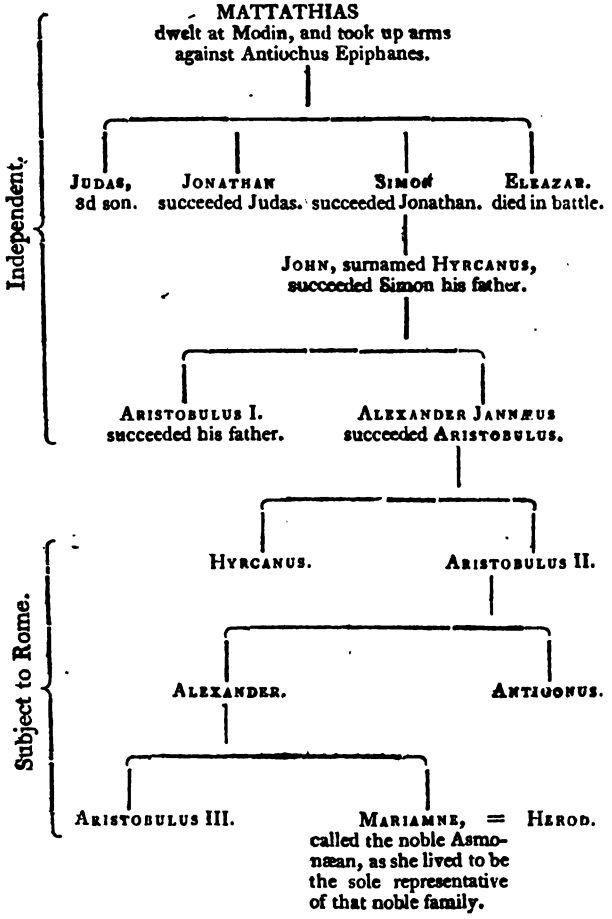

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The family of Joarib was the first class of priests of the sons of Eleazar, the son of Aaron the high priest. Some time after the captivity, one of the family was called Asmonæus. From him the family received the name of *Asmonæans*. Antiochus Epiphanes began the severe persecution of the Jews, which occasioned Mattathias, a leader in the family, to rise in arms against him. This was in 3836. The victories of his sons made the Jews independent of the Syrian monarch.

The victories of Pompey the Great over Tigranes gave the Romans a pretence, and a quarrel which happened in 3940, between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, the sons of Alexander Jannæus, gave them an opportunity of interfering in the affairs of the Jews. From this time the Jews became subjects of the Romans.

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## STEMMATA ASMONÆANA.

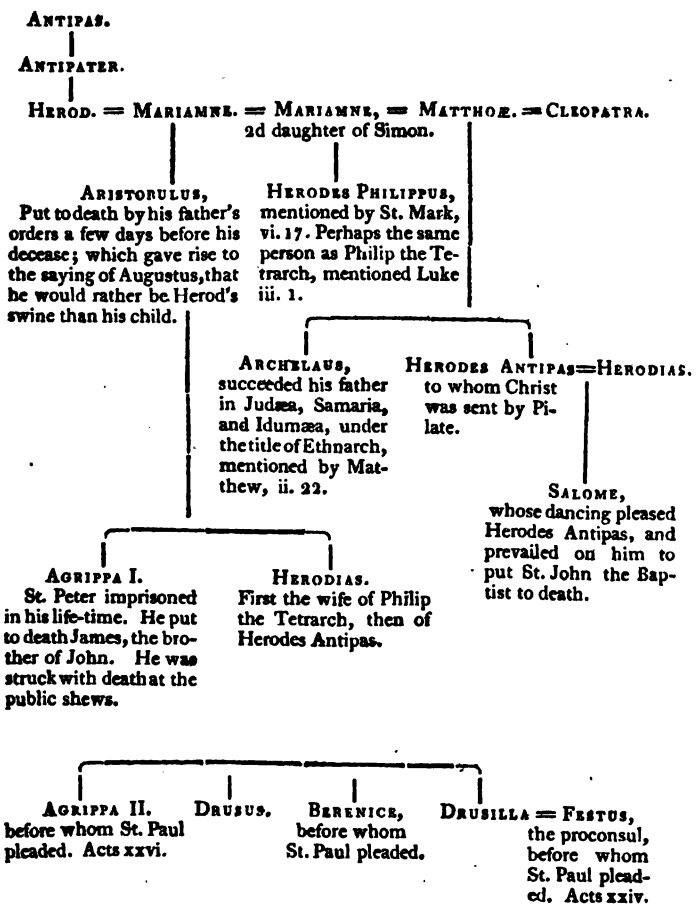



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When the Jews were carried captives to Babylon, the Edomites, or *Idumæans*, possessed themselves of the southern part of the lands occupied by the tribe of Judah. John Hyrcanus, the Asmonæan prince of that name, conquered them in 3875, and made them embrace the Jewish religion. Antipas, the grandfather of Herod, was an Idumæan Jew. Herod began his reign in 3967. He married Mariamne, the sole representative of the noble family of the Asmonæans, and thence called by her contemporaries the noble Asmonæan. He enlarged, adorned, and in a manner rebuilt the temple of Zerubbabel. As it was built on the same foundation, and with the same materials, as far as they could be used, it was not considered as a new temple, distinct from that of Zerubbabel. In the thirty-third year of his reign, Christ was born. The following year Herod died.

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## STEMMATA IDUMÆANA.






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The following is a catalogue of the High Priests, from the beginning of Herod's reign, till the final destruction of the temple. They had no hereditary right, but were set up and removed at the pleasure of Herod and his successors.

Ananclus.
Jesus.
Simon.
Josephus.
Joazar.
Eleazar.
Jesus.
Joazar.
Anna or Annas.
Ishmael.
Eleazar.
Simon.
Annas, and Caiaphas his son-in-law, colleagues at the time of Christ's passion.
Annas alone:—Acts iv. & v.
Jonathas.
Theophilus.
Simon.
Matthias.
Ælionæus.
Joseph.
Ananias, called by St. Paul a white wall.
Ishmael.
Josephus.

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| | |
|---|---|
| Anna. | Matthias. |
| Jesus. | Phannias. |
| Jesus. | |

Phannias was high priest when Jerusalem and the temple were destroyed by Titus Vespasian. This was in the 70th year of the Christian æra. Since that time the Jews have neither had temple, nor high priest, nor holy city.

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VII. 2. With respect to *the present state of the Jews*, their history, from the death of Christ to the present century, has been ably written by Monsieur Basnage. It presents a scene of suffering and persecution unparalleled in the annals of the world. Wherever the Jews have been established, they necessarily have borne their share of the evils of the age in which they lived, and the country in which they resided. But, besides their common share in the sufferings of society, they have undergone a series of horrid and unutterable calamities, which no other description of men have experienced in any age or any country. "What have "ye done, O ungrateful men!" exclaims Bossuet; "slaves in every country, and "under every prince, still ye serve not "strange gods. Why then has God, who "chose you, forgotten you? Where are his "antient mercies? What crime, what atro-"city more heinous than idolatry, has "brought on you a punishment, that even

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" your repeated idolatries did not bring " upon you? Ye are silent! Ye see not what " makes your God thus inexorable! Then " recollect the words of your fathers,—Let " HIS blood be on us and on our children; " WE will have no other King than Cæsar. " Be it so: the Messiah shall not be your " King,—continue slaves of Cæsar, slaves " of the sovereigns of the earth, till the " Church shall be filled with the Gentiles! " Then only shall Israel be saved." But while we reverence, in their sufferings and calamities, the prophecies which foretold them, so long before they happened; while, in humble silence and submission, we adore the inscrutable and unsearchable decrees of God, who thus terribly visits the sins of fathers on their children, we shall find, that, in judging between them and their persecutors, it is a justice due to them from us, to acknowledge, that, if on some occasions they may be thought to have deserved their misfortunes by their private vices or public

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crimes, it has oftener happened, that they have been the innocent victims of avarice, rage, or mistaken zeal. *Res est sacra, miser.* Their sufferings alone entitle them to compassion; and our compassion for them should rise to an higher feeling, when, to use the language of St. Paul, (Rom. ix. 4, 5, and 6), we consider, "that theirs was the adoption, "the glory, the covenants, the law, the wor- "ship, the promise, and the fathers, and "that from them descended the Christ ac- "cording to the flesh, who is God over all, "blessed for ever" (Rom. xi. 26, 28); "that "the hour approaches, when all Israel shall "be saved, when the deliverer shall come "out of Zion, and shall turn away ungod- "liness from Jacob;" and that, even in their present state of rejection, "they are be- "loved of God, for their fathers' sake."

To the honour of the See of Rome, it must be said, that the Roman Pontiffs, with a small exception, have treated them with lenity, defended them against their perse-

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cutors, and often checked the mistaken zeal of those, who sought to convert them by force. St. Gregory the Great always exhorted his clergy and the other parts of his flock, to behave to them with candour and tenderness. He repeatedly declared, that they should be brought into the unity of faith, by gentle means, by fair persuasions, by charitable advice, not by force: and, that, as the law of the state did not allow their building new synagogues, they ought to be allowed the free use of their own places of worship. His successors, in general, pursued the same line of conduct. The persecutions excited by the Emperor Heraclius against the Jews, were blamed at the fourth council of Toledo, which declared, "that it was unlawful and unchris-
"tianlike to force people to believe, seeing
"it is God alone who hardens and shews
"mercy to whom he will." St. Isidore of Seville was a strong advocate for mild treatment of them. There is extant a letter from

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St. Bernard, to the Archbishop of Mentz, in which he strongly condemns the violence shewn them by the crusaders. At a latter period, Pope Gregory the IXth, a zealous promoter of the crusade itself, observing, that the crusaders in many places began their expedition with massacres of the Jews, not only loudly reprehended them, but took all proper methods of preventing such barbarity. Pope Nicholas the IId protected them, in his own dominions, even against the inquisition: and sent letters into Spain, to prevent their being compelled to abjure their religion. Pope Alexander the VIth, (a greatly injured character), received with kindness, and recommended to the protection of the other Italian states, the Jews who came to Rome or other parts of Italy, on their banishment from Spain and Portugal. Paul the IIId shewed them so much kindness, that Cardinal Sadolet thought him blameable for carrying it to an excess. By the bulls of Pius V. and Clement the VIIIth,

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they are banished from the papal dominions, except Rome, Ancona, and Avignon. Pope Innocent the XIth gave them several marks of his favour. "Popish Rome," says Barrios, "hath always protected the Jews, "ever since Titus destroyed Jerusalem."

Of the state of the Jews during the middle ages, we have curious and interesting accounts by Benjamin of Tudela in Navarre, and Rabbi Pitachah; two learned Jews, who, in the twelfth century, visited the principal cities of the east, where the Jews had synagogues, and returned through Hungary, Germany, Italy, and France. A wish to magnify the importance of their brethren, is discernible in the writings of both; and, for their extreme credulity, both are justly censured. But, after every reasonable deduction is made on these accounts, from the credibility of their narratives, much will remain to interest even an intelligent and cautious reader. At different times, the Jews have been banished from France, from

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Germany, from Spain, from Bohemia, and from Hungary. We have particular accounts of the miseries of those, who were banished from the last of these kingdoms. They were banished from England in the reign of Edward the First, but were permitted to return by Oliver Cromwell. Numbers of them are settled in Persia, in the Turkish Empire, in Fez, Morocco, Barbary, in many parts of the East Indies, in some part of Germany, in some of the Italian states, in Poland, in Prussia, and the Hanse towns. Their condition is most flourishing in England and Holland; but Poland is the principal seat of their literature. They have no accurate deduction of their descent or genealogy. They suppose, that, in general, they are of the tribes of Benjamin and Judah, with some among them of the tribe of Levi; but the Spanish and Portuguese Jews claim this descent, exclusively for themselves, and, in consequence of it, will not by marriage, or otherwise, incorporate with

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the Jews of other nations. They have separate synagogues; and if a Portuguese Jew should, even in England or Holland, marry a German Jewess, he would immediately be expelled the synagogue, deprived of every civil and ecclesiastical right, and ejected from the body of the nation. They found their pretensions on a supposition, which prevails among them, that many of the principal families removed, or were sent into Spain, at the time of the captivity of Babylon. See the *Reflexions Critiques*, added to the second letter, in the incomparable collection, intitled, *Lettres de quelques Juifs Portugais, Allemands, et Polonais, à M. de Voltaire.*—It is certain, that a large body of Jews is established in China; the best account of them is in Brotier's Tacitus, vol. iii. p. 567.

All Jews, say the authors of the Universal History, from Basnage, feel the dignity of their origin, recollect their former preeminence, with conscious elevation of cha-

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racter, and bear with indignation their present state of degradation and political subserviency. But they comfort themselves with the hope, that their hour of triumph is at hand, when the long expected Messiah will come, will gather them from the corners of the earth, will settle them in the land of their fathers, and subject all the nations of the earth to his throne.

VII. 4. *With respect to the religious tenets of the Jews*; they are thirteen in number, and are as follows—

1. "I believe with a true and perfect faith "that God is the Creator, (whose name be "blessed), governor and maker of all crea- "tures, and that he hath wrought all things, "worketh and shall work for ever.

2. "I believe with perfect faith, that the "Creator, (whose name be blessed), is one, "and that such an unity as in him, can "be found in none other; and that he "alone hath been our God, is and for ever "shall be.

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3. " I believe with a perfect faith, that " the Creator, (whose name be blessed), is " not corporeal, not to be comprehended " with any bodily properties; and that there " is no bodily essence can be likened unto " him.

4. " I believe with a perfect faith, the " Creator, (whose name be blessed), to be " the first and the last, and that nothing " was before him, that he shall abide the " last for ever.

5. " I believe with a perfect faith, that " the Creator, (whose name be blessed), is " to be worshipped, and none else.

6. " I believe with a perfect faith, that " all the words of the prophets are true.

7. " I believe with a perfect faith, that " the prophecies of Moses, (our master, may " he rest in peace), were true. That he was " the father and chief of all wise men, that " lived before him or ever shall live after " him.

8. " I believe with a perfect faith, that

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" all the law, which, at this day, is found in " our hands, was delivered by God himself, " to our master Moses, (God's peace be with " him).

9. " I believe with a perfect faith, that " the same law is never to be changed, nor " any other to be given us of God, (whose " name be blessed).

10. " I believe with a perfect faith, that " God, (whose name be blessed), under- " standeth all the works and thoughts of " men: as it is written in the prophets; He " fashioneth their hearts alike; He under- " standeth all their works.

11. " I believe with a perfect faith, that " God will recompense good to them who " keep his commandments, and will punish " those who transgress them.

12. " I believe with a perfect faith, that " the Messiah is yet to come; and, although " he retard his coming, yet I will wait for " him till he come.

13. " I believe with a perfect faith, that

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" the dead shall be restored to life, when it " shall seem fit unto God the Creator, (whose " name be blessed, and memory celebrated " world without end, Amen)." *

VII. 5. *The doctors and teachers of the Jews have been distinguished by different appellations.* Those employed in the Talmud were, from the high authority of their works, among the Jews, called *Aemouroïm*, or Dictators. They were succeeded by the *Seburoïm*, or Opinionists, a name given them, from the respect which the Jews had for their opinions; and because they did not dictate doctrines, but inferred opinions by disputation and probable arguments. These were succeeded by the *Gheonim*, or the Excellent; who received their name, from the very high esteem, and even veneration, in which they are held by the Jews. They subsisted till the destruction of the academies of the Jews in Babylon, by the Saracens, about the year 1038. From that time

* NOTE I.

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the learned among the Jews have been called *Rabbims*, or the Masters.

It is seldom, that a Jew applies himself to profane literature. Even the lawfulness of it has been generally questioned. Some have greater respect than others for the Talmudical doctrines. In consequence of using in his writings some free expressions concerning them, a violent storm was raised against Maimonides. Kimchi, and, generally speaking, all the Spanish and Narbonnese doctors, took part with him. The others, led on by R. Solomon, the chief of the synagogue of Montpellier, opposed him. Both parties were equally violent, and the synagogues excommunicated each other. This dispute commenced about the middle of the twelfth, and lasted till nearly the thirteenth century.

VII. 6. But the great distinction of the Jewish Rabbins is that of the *Tanaits* or *Rabbanists* and *Caraites*. The first are warm advocates for the traditionary opinions, ge-

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nerally received among the Jews, particularly those of the Talmud; and for the observation of several religious ceremonies and duties, not enjoined by the law of Moses: the second absolutely reject all traditionary opinions, and hold all rites and duties, not enjoined by the law of Moses, to be human institutions, with which there is no obligation for a Jew to comply.

Some writers consider the Tanaits, or Rabbanists and Caraits, as Pharisees and Sadducees, under other names. Hottinger, *Thesaurus Philologicus, seu clavis Scripturæ*, printed at Zurich in 1649, p. 26, says, " At " nondum hodie exspirasse Pharisæorum " ordinem recenti et memorabili plané his- " toria probat Joh. Myll. Rabb. p. 71. Ego, " existimo, nec Pharisæos primis illis per om- " nia æquales, nec Sadducæos hodie in nos- " tris oris, (in orientalibus enim Climatibus " sub Muhammetismo præsertim, multos " delitescere Sadducæos, probare fortè pro- " clivius esset; vide Taarich Pers. Schikh.



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" p. 134, & Geog. Nubiens. Par. 7. Clim. 3)
" superesse: Παχυμερως tamen Pharisæos dici
" quos Rabbanistas melius vocaris; Saddu-
" cæos, qui Karræi vulgo appellantur."—
In this general sense, the traditions in the Talmud, being now so extensively received by the Jews, Pharisaism may be considered the prevailing doctrine in the Hebrew religion.

VII. 7. *The Cabala* is divided into three sorts:—By the first, the Jews extract from the words of Scripture recondite meanings, which are sometimes ingenious, but always fanciful. The second, is a sort of magic, in employing the words and letters of the Scripture, in certain combinations, which, they suppose, have power to make the good and evil spirits of the invisible world familiar to them. The third, which is properly the Cabala, is an art, by which they profess to raise mysterious expositions of the Scripture, upon the letters of the sentences, to which they apply them. The whole is fancy

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and imagination. This, some even among the Jews, acknowledge.

VII. 8. When Rousseau says in his Emile, " Je ne croirai jamais avoir bien entendu " les raisons des Juifs, qu'ils n'aient une " état libre, des écoles, des universités, où " ils puissent parler et demeurer sans risque; " alors seulement, nous pourrons sçavoir ce " qu'ils ont à dire," he evidently writes on a subject, of which he was perfectly ignorant. At all times, the Jews have had schools, and numberless are *the works they have published, in defence of Judaism, and against the Christian religion.* The most celebrated of these are the *Toledoth Jeshu*, a work replete with the boldest blasphemy; and the *Chizzouk Emounah*, or buckler of faith, a work of great ability. These and some other writings of the Jews against Christianity, are collected, and an ample refutation of them published, in the *Tela Ignea Satanæ*, of Wagenseil, *Altdorphi Noricorum*, 1681. The *Pugio Fidei* of *Raymundus*

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*Martinus* is considered to be a learned and powerful defence of the Christian religion, against the arguments of the Jews; and, though it be not free from the literary defects of the times in which it was written, it still preserves its reputation. The *Amica Collatio de veritate Religionis Christianæ cum erudito Judæo*, of Limborch, and the papers published with it, form one of the most interesting and entertaining works of controversy, that have appeared upon any subject. La Croze's *Entretiens sur divers sujéts de l'histoire de literature de religion et de critique, Cologne*, 1711, 8vo. contain a supposed dialogue between a Christian and a Jew, which gives some notion of the principal objections of the Jews to the Christian religion, and their manner of urging them.

VII. 9. *It is a mistake to suppose the Jews an intolerant people.* They hold all men obliged to observe, what are called the seven precepts of the sons of Noah. These are---

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1st, not to commit adultery; 2dly, not to blaspheme; 3dly, to appoint just and upright judges; 4thly, not to commit incest; 5thly, not to commit murder; 6thly, not to rob or steal; and 7thly, not to eat a member of any living creature. But they hold the Jews alone obliged to conform to the Sinaitic covenant, or law of Moses. They say, it was a covenant between God and the Jews; that the Jews therefore are bound to the performance of it; but that it is not binding on the rest of mankind. Those, who forsake idolatry, and profess to follow the precepts of Noah, are called by them, *Proselytes of the Gate*; and, while the Jewish government existed, were permitted to live among them. Those, who take on them the observance of the whole law, are called *Proselytes of Justice or Righteousness*; they are initiated to it, by ablution, sacrifice, and circumcision; and are thenceforth considered to be Jews, for all purposes, except intermarriage, from which some nations are

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excluded for ever, others till after the third generation.

## VIII.

With respect to the HEBREW MANUSCRIPTS AND PRINTED EDITIONS OF THE HEBREW TEXT:

VIII. 1. It is observable, that no extensive collation of the *Hebrew manuscripts* of the sacred text was made till the present century. This was owing, in a great measure, to the notion which had been formed, of the integrity of the sacred text, in consequence of its supposed preservation from error, by the wonder-working Masorah. In the annals of literature, a more striking instance does not, perhaps, occur to shew, how unsafe it is to adopt received opinions without examination, than the general acquiescence of the learned in that opinion. The Rabbins boldly asserted, and the Christians implicitly believed, that the Hebrew

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text was free from error, and that, in all the manuscripts of it, not an instance of a various reading of importance could be produced. "*Qua latissimè patent oriens et* "*occidens, uno ore, uno modo, verbum Dei* "*legitur; et omnium librorum, qui in Asiâ,* "*Africâ, vel Europâ sunt, sine ullâ discrepan-* "*tiâ, consonans harmonia cernitur.*" Such is the astonishing language of Buxtorf, in his Tiberias. The first, who combated this notion in the form of regular attack, was Ludovicus Capellus. From the difference he observed between the Hebrew text and the version of the Seventy, and between the Hebrew and the Samaritan Pentateuch, from the manifest and palpable corruptions he thought he saw in the text itself, and from the many reasons, which made him suppose the vowel points and the Masorah were both a modern and an useless invention, he was led to question the general integrity of the text, and even his enemies allowed, that, in his attack upon it, he dis-

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covered extreme learning and ingenuity. Still, however, he admitted the uniformity of the manuscripts. When this was urged against him by Buxtorf, he had little to reply. At length, (what should have been done before any thing had been said or written on the subject), the manuscripts themselves were examined, and innumerable various readings in them discovered. From this time the Biblical criticism of the sacred text took a new turn. Manuscripts were every where collated, were examined with the same attention, the various readings of them were discussed with the same freedom, and their respective merits ascertained by the same rules of criticism, as had been before used in respect to manuscripts of profane authors. The celebrated collation of Dr. *Kennicott* was begun in the year 1760. He undertook to collate all the manuscripts of the sacred text in England and Ireland; and, while he should be employed in this, (which he supposed might be about

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ten years), to collate, as far as the expence would admit, all the Hebrew manuscripts of importance, in foreign countries. The first volume was printed in 1776; the second, and only other, in 1780. Dr. Kennicott himself collated two hundred and fifty manuscripts. Under his direction, and at his expence, Mr. Bruns collated three hundred and fifty: so that the whole number of manuscripts collated, on this occasion, was six hundred. There is, however, reason to suppose, that some of the manuscripts were confounded and numbered more than once: on this ground it has been asserted, that the number of them should be reduced to about five hundred and eighty. Dr. Kennicott mentions in his Preface several manuscripts, which it was not in his power to collate. It appears, that, in his opinion, fifty-one of the manuscripts collated for his edition were from six hundred to eight hundred, and that one hundred and seventy-four were from four hundred

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and eighty to five hundred and eighty years old. Four quarto volumes of various readings have since been published by M. *De Rossi* of Parma, from more than four hundred manuscripts, some of which are said to be of the seventh or eighth century, as well as from a considerable number of rare and unnoticed editions, under the title of *Variæ Lectiones Veteris Testamenti, ex immensâ manuscriptorum editorumque codicum congerie, haustæ et examinatæ, — Parmæ*, 1786. The matter, however, is far from being exhausted, particularly if the possible treasures of the East be taken into calculation. The consequence of these extensive collations has been, to raise a general opinion among the learned, 1st, that all the manuscript copies of the Hebrew Scriptures now extant may, in some sort, be called Masoritic copies, because none of them have entirely escaped the rude hands of the Masorites: 2dly, that the most valuable manuscripts, generally speaking, are those,

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which are oldest, written at first without points or accents, containing the greatest number of real vowels, or *matres lectionis*, exhibiting marks of an accurate transcriber, and conforming most to the antient versions, and, with regard to the Pentateuch, conforming most to the Samaritan exemplar and the Greek uninterpolated version: 3dly, that the Masoritic copies often disagree, and that, the further back they go, the greater is their disagreement from the present printed copy: fourthly, that the synagogical rolls disagree the least from the printed copies, so that they are of little value in ascertaining the text:—(the late Dr. Geddes mentioned to the writer, that he would not change the smallest fragment of an old manuscript, of the tenth age, for the finest synagogical roll in Europe:) 4thly, from all this, they conclude, that the surest sources of emendation, are a collation of manuscripts and parallel places; a comparison of the text with the antient versions,

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and of these with one another; grammatical analogy; and, where all these fail, even conjectural criticism. The merit of Dr. Kennicott's labours is generally acknowledged; his opinions on the state of the Hebrew text are generally received: and the high pretensions of the Masorah are generally rejected. Still, however, the ancient opinions have some advocates. They do not go so far as to assert, that a collation of Hebrew manuscripts is perfectly useless; but they think it may be prized higher than it deserves: that, when manuscripts of an earlier date than the Masorah are sought for, it should not be forgotten, that the Masorites had those manuscripts, when they settled the text; and what hopes can there be, they ask, that, at the close of the eighteenth century, after the Hebrew has long ceased to be a spoken language, a Christian, so much of whose time is employed in other pursuits, and distracted by other cares, can make a better use of those

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manuscripts than was actually made of them, by the Masoritic literati, whose whole time, whose every thought, from their earliest years to their latest age, was devoted to that one object; who lived among the people, and almost in the country, where the events, recorded by them, happened,—who saw, with their own eyes, the manners they describe, and daily and hourly spoke and heard a language kindred to that, in which they are written? But, if there must be a collation of manuscripts, then, say they, no manuscript written by any other than a Jew, or wanting any one of the before mentioned marks of authenticity, should be taken into account: and, trying the question of the integrity of the text by these, which they call, the only authentic manuscripts, no question, they assert, will remain of the perfect integrity, and perfect freedom from corruption, of the present text. Where it can be shewn, that the text of the Masorah is corrupt, the genuineness of the

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Bible reading may be doubted: but where there is no reason to impeach the Masorah, the text, as they assert, is beyond controversy. Wolfius, Bibl. Hebræa, tom. ii. 332, boldly says, "*Congerantur in cumulum, si quis subnasci unquam potest, omnes varietates, et omni ego pignore contendere ausim, eas magis ad stabiliendam quam dubiam reddendam lectionem hodie receptam inservituras esse.*" Opitius, in the last page but one of his Preface, says, still more confidently, "*Quin, si vel omnes impressi, vel manuscripti codices convenirent in asserendâ lectione quâdam, contrarium vero pronunciaret Masora, confidenter ejus secuti sumus auctoritatem, si modo nobis constaret illam esse genuinam.*" The same opinion is adopted by Tychsen, in his work already cited; and to enforce it, appears to have been his chief object in writing that work. The *Titres Primitifs* of Fabricy, *Rome* 1772, contain much curious learning, urged with a considerable degree of ingenuity, in favour

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of the Masoritic system.—*Tantas non nostrum est componere lites.*

VIII. 2. With respect to *the printed editions of the Hebrew Bible*, those, which have appeared to deserve particular attention, are, the edition at Soncino, in 1488, from its being the first printed edition of the whole Bible; the edition at Brescia, in 1494, from its being the edition used by Luther, in his translation; the edition printed in 1517, without the name of any place. These three editions are called the *Soncinates*, being printed by Jews of a family, which came originally from Germany, and established themselves at Soncino, a town in Lombardy, between Cremona and Brescia. They were the first Hebrew printers. Some of them afterwards established themselves in Bologna, Brescia and Rimini.

Their edition of 1488, as being the first printed edition of the whole Bible, is in great request; there are not known to be more than nine copies of it in Europe; one

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of them is in the library of Exeter college, in Oxford; but it is printed very incorrectly. Their edition of 1494 is less incorrect; it contains many various readings, not to be found in the subsequent editions; these often account for the differences in Luther's version.

*Bomberg's edition* was printed five times, and is distinguished by the beauty of the type; but, not being divided into chapters and verses, is unfit for general use. The first of his editions was printed in 1518, the last in 1545: they were all printed at Venice, and are all in 4$^{to}$.

A person acquiring the fourth of them, would have a great typographical curiosity, as it is only known to exist from the title of the fifth.

*Robert Stephens*'s 16$^{mo}$ edition is most elegantly printed. It is in seven volumes, and was printed at Paris 1544—1546. He had before printed a 4$^{to}$ edition at Paris, in four volumes, 1539—1544.

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Of that of *Menasseh ben Israel*, in 4to, published at Amsterdam, in 1635, father Simon observes, that it has the advantage not only of being very correct, but likewise of being printed in two columns.

The celebrated edition of *Athias*, a Jew, and printer at Amsterdam, was published in that city, first in 1661, and afterwards in 1667, with some corrections and a learned preface: it is remarkable for being the first edition in Hebrew, in which the verses are numbered. It was beautifully reprinted by *Everardhus Vander Hooght*, in two volumes 8vo, 1705. Concerning this edition, Jablonski says in the preface to his own of 1696, p. 3, "Biblia illa Athiæ, nitidissi-"ma sunt: in literis quidem perraro, in "verbis frequentius, in vocalibus sæpis-"sime aberrare deprehenduntur." This edition has the general reputation of great accuracy. Some have called its accuracy in question; but the elegance of the type, the beauty of the paper, and the fine glossy



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blackness of the ink, cannot be denied. His text was adopted by Dr. Kennicott, in his edition. The Doctor observes, that the variations between the edition printed in 1488, and the edition of Vander Hooght, amount, upon the whole, to above twelve thousand. The states of Holland rewarded Athias's labours, with a present from them of a golden chain, and a golden medallion pendent from it.

The *Plantinian editions* have considerable merit for their neatness and accuracy.

The edition of *Nuñes Torres*, with the notes of Raschè, was begun in 1700, was printed in 1705, and has always been the favourite edition of the Jews.

Most of the former editions were surpassed by that of *Michaelis* in 1720, in octavo, quarto and folio; the first critical, and a most useful edition, exhibiting various readings, not only in the consonants, but likewise in the vowels and accents.

The editions, of which we have been

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speaking hitherto, are of the Hebrew alone, without any translation. The most celebrated edition of the Hebrew with a Latin translation, was that of *Sebastian Munster*. The first volume of the first edition was printed in 1534, the second volume in 1535; the second edition was printed in 1546. It was the first Latin translation by any of the separatists from the see of Rome.

*Santes Pagninus* was the first of the communicants with that see, who made an entirely new Latin version. It was published at Lyons, in 1528, and has often been republished. That it is an accurate and faithful translation, all acknowledge, that the Latinity is barbarous, cannot be denied; but, as it was the author's plan, to frame a verbal translation, in the strictest and most literal sense of that word, its supposed barbarism was unavoidable, and cannot, therefore, be imputed to it, as a fault. With some improvement, and accompanied by the New Testament in Greek, and the

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vulgate translation of it in Latin, it was published in 1542, with notes by the celebrated Servetus. Arias Montanus printed it, with many corrections, in the Antwerp Polyglott: and this corrected translation has gone through a multitude of editions. Of these, the edition of Geneva in 1619 is the best.

An edition, little known in this country, but, in many respects, highly valuable, is that, published by *Lewis de Biel*, a Jesuit at Vienna, in 1743, in four volumes large octavo. It contains the Hebrew and two Latin versions, that of the vulgate edition, in 1592, and that of Arias Montanus. It is ornamented with vignettes, and the initial letters are on engravings, representing some fact of sacred history, to which the immediate subject is applicable.

The celebrated edition of the Rev. *Charles Francis Houbigant*, an oratorian, was published in four volumes folio, with a Latin version and prolegomena, at Paris, in 1753.

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The expense of printing this edition amounted to 35,000 livres, though little more than three hundred copies of it were printed; it is now become scarce. The prolegomena and the Latin version have been printed separately. The merit of this edition is celebrated by all, who are not advocates for the Masorah: by those it is spoken of, in the very harshest terms. Several manuscripts were occasionally consulted by the author: but it is evident, that he did not collate any one-manuscript throughout.

Mention has been already made of Dr. *Kennicott's* edition, and the subsequent labours of *De Rossi*. Prior to Houbigant's edition, was that of *Reineccius*, at Leipsic, in 1725, reprinted there in 1739. A new edition of it was printed in 1793, under the inspection of Dr. Doederlein, and Professor Meisner. It contains the most important of the various readings collected by Dr. Kennicott and M. De Rossi, printed under the text. For the purpose of common use,

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it is an excellent edition, and supplies the want of the splendid but expensive editions and collations, of Houbigant, Kennicott, and De Rossi.

Those who extend their Biblical researches to the Chaldee Paraphrases and Rabbinism, are recommended, by the learned in those too much neglected branches of Biblical literature, to the *Biblia Rabbinica* of *Bomberg* and *Burtorf*, to the *Biblia Rabbinica* of *Rabbi Moses*, published at Amsterdam, in four volumes, folio, in 1724—1727; and particularly to that printed at Mantua in 1742,—1744, by *Rabbi Jediah Solomon Moses*. It is in four volumes 4^to^, but little known; and contains a collation of some antient Manuscripts, and of the oldest printed editions of the Hebrew text, extracts from both the Thalmuds, the Medraschim, the most antient Jewish annotators, an excellent critical commentary, and much other useful matter. The purchasers of the Biblia Rabbinica of Rabbi Moses

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should see, that the copy offered to them contains the treatise of the Rabbi Abdias Sporno, *de Scopo Legis*, which, in the copies designed for sale to Christians, is generally omitted.

## IX.

IX. 1. With respect to the GREEK MANUSCRIPTS,---it should be premised, that there is no reason to suppose, that the *Autographs*, or *Original* manuscripts of the sacred Penmen of the New Testament, existed in the third century. See Griesbach, *Historia Textus Epistolarum Pauli.* Various readings of the New Testament were noticed as early as St. Clement of Alexandria: he remarks the double reading of ἐνδυσάμενοι, and ἐκδυσάμενοι, in 2 Cor. v. 3. Oecumenius, who copied the antients, observes, that, in 1 Cor. xv. 51, some manuscripts read οὐ before ἀλλαγησόμεθα, and omitted it before κοιμηθησόμεθα.

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IX. 2. The Greek manuscripts of the New Testament, which have reached us, are, according to Wetstein's account, *written either on parchment or vellum, or paper.* The parchment or vellum is either purple-coloured, or of its natural colour; and either thin or thick. The paper is either silken, or of the common sort; and either glazed, or of the ordinary roughness. The letters are either capital, (generally called uncial), or small. The capital letters are either unadorned and simple, and the strokes of them very thin and straight; or they are of a thicker kind, uneven and angular. Some of them are supported on something like a base, others are ornamented, or rather burthened, with a top. Letters of the first description are of the kind generally found on the antient monuments of Greece; those of the last, resemble the paintings of half barbarous times. Manuscripts, therefore, written in the first kind of letter, are generally supposed to be of the sixth century, at the

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latest; those, written in the second kind of letter, are generally supposed to be of the tenth century. The manuscripts written in the small letters are of a still later age. But the Greek manuscripts, copied by the Latins, after the reign of Charlemagne, are in another kind of alphabet; the α, the ε, and the γ, in them, are inflected, in the form of the letters of the Latin alphabet. Even in the earliest manuscripts, some words are abbreviated. At the beginning of a new book, the four or five first lines are often written in vermilion. Few manuscripts of the entire New Testament have been discovered. The greater part contain the Gospels only; very few have the Apocalypse. In almost all, (and this is particularly the case of the older manuscripts), several leaves are wanting; sometimes they are replaced in a writing of a much later date. All the manuscripts have obliterations and corrections. But here a material distinction is to be attended to: some of the alterations are

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made by the writer himself, others by other persons and at a subsequent time. The first are said to be *a primâ manu*, the second *a secundâ manu*.

IX. 3. The curious and extensive collations, which have been made of manuscripts within this century, have shewn, that *certain manuscripts have an affinity to each other*, and that their text is distinguished from others by characteristic marks. This has enabled the writers on the subject to arrange them under certain general classes. They have observed, that, as different countries had different versions, according to their respective languages, their manuscripts naturally resembled their respective versions, as the versions, generally speaking, were made from the manuscripts in common use. Pursuing this idea, they have supposed four principal editions: 1st, the Western edition, or that used in the countries where the Latin language was spoken;—with this, the Latin versions coincide: 2d, the Alexandrine

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edition;—with this, the quotations of Origen coincide: 3d, the Edessene edition, from which the Syriac version was made: and 4th, the Byzantine or Constantinopolitan edition: the greatest number of manuscripts written by the monks on mount Athos, the Moscow manuscripts, the Slavonian or Russian versions, and the quotations of St. Chrysostom and Theophylact bishop of Bulgaria, are referrible to this edition. The readings of this edition are remarkably different from those of the other editions; between those, a striking coincidence appears. A reading supported by three of them is supposed to be of the very highest authority; yet the true reading is sometimes found only in the fourth: and it should always be remembered, that a reading may have many manuscripts in its favour, but that, if they all belong to the same family, or recension, they are to be regarded as a single testimony.

IX. 4. From the *coincidence observed be-*

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*tween many Greek manuscripts and the Vulgate*, or some other Latin translation, a suspicion arose in the minds of several writers of eminence, that the Greek text had been altered throughout, to the Latin. This seems to have been first suggested by Erasmus; but it does not appear that he supposed the alterations were made before the fifteenth century: so that the charge of *Latinizing* the manuscripts did not, in his notion of it, extend to the original writers of the manuscript, or, as they are called, the writers a *primâ manu*, as it affected only the subsequent interpolators, or, as they are called, the writers *a secundâ manu*. Father Simon and Mill adopted and extended the accusation; and it was urged by Wetstein with his usual vehemence and ability; so that it came to be generally received. Bengel expressed some doubts of it; and Semler formally called it in question. He was followed by Griesbach and Woide; and finally brought over Michaelis, who, in the first

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edition of his Introduction to the New Testament, had taken part with the accusers; but, in the fourth edition of the same work, with a candour, of which there are too few examples, declared himself persuaded, that the charge was unfounded, and totally abandoned his first opinion. Carrying the proof to its utmost length, it only shews, that the Latin translations, and the Greek copies, were made from the same exemplars. This rather proves the antiquity of the Latin translations, than the corruption of the Greek copies. It is also observable, that St. Jerom corrected the Latin from the Greek: a circumstance known in every part of the western church. Now, (as Michaelis justly observes), when it was known, that the learned father had made the Greek text the basis for his alterations in the Latin translation, it is scarcely to be imagined, that the transcribers of the western church would alter the Greek by the Latin. It is still less probable, that those of the

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eastern church would act in this manner.

IX. 5. Besides the manuscripts which contain whole books of the New Testament, other manuscripts have been consulted, with a view to find out the true readings of the text; among these are the *Lectionaria*, or collections of detached parts of the New Testament, appointed to be read in the public service of the church. These are distinguished into the *Evangelistarium*, or lessons from the Gospel, and the *Apostolos*, or lessons from the Acts and Epistles. The quotations from the New Testament, in the works of the antients, have also been consulted.

IX. 6. The *principal manuscripts are the Codex Alexandrinus, the Codex Cantabrigiensis, or Codex Bezæ, and the Codex Vaticanus.* The Codex Alexandrinus consists of four volumes; the three first of them contain the Old Testament; the fourth, the New Testament, together with the first

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Epistle of St. Clement to the Corinthians, and a fragment of the second. The Codex Cantabrigiensis, or the Codex Bezæ, is a Greek and Latin manuscript of the four Gospels, and the Acts of the Apostles. The Codex Vaticanus contained, originally, the whole Greek Bible. The respective ages of these venerable manuscripts have been a subject of great controversy, and have employed the ingenuity and learning of several biblical writers of great renown. After a profound investigation of the subject, Dr. Woide fixes the age of the *Codex Alexandrinus* between the middle and end of the fourth century; but Semler, with greater probability, believes it was written in the seventh century; and Michaelis, nearly in agreement with him, places it between the sixth and eighth. After a similar investigation, Dr. Kipling fixes the age of the *Codex Cantabrigiensis*, or the Codex Bezæ, at the second century: but Mr. Herbert Marsh, in his notes to Michaelis, vol. ii.

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p. 708—715, invincibly demonstrates, that it was not written beyond the fifth century. Montfaucon and Blanchini refer the *Codex Vaticanus* to the fifth century. But we are infinitely better acquainted with the two first, than with the third of these manuscripts. In 1786, a fac-simile edition of the New Testament in the Codex Alexandrinus was published at London, at the expence of the University of Oxford, by Dr. Woide. His preface, with the addition of valuable notes, was republished at Leipsic, in 1788, by Professor Spohn. In 1793, a fac-simile edition of the Codex Cantabrigiensis, or the Codex Bezæ, was published at Cambridge, at the expence of the University, by Dr. Kipling. These editions exhibit their respective prototypes, page for page, line for line, word for word, contraction for contraction, rasure for rasure, to a degree of similarity hardly credible. The types were cast for the purpose, in alphabets of various forms, that they might be varied with

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the manuscript, and represent it more exactly. Of a work of this kind, till those we are speaking of were published, the world had not seen an instance. That which approached nearest to them, was the Virgil, published at Florence in 1741; from the Medicæan manuscript, supposed to be of the latter end of the fifth century. The Codex Vaticanus has been often collated, but never published. Bentley procured important extracts to be made from it: these were published by Professor Birch, with his own, in the splendid edition of the four Gospels, which we shall, afterwards, have occasion to mention.

## X.

From the manuscripts of the New Testament, the passage is to the printed editions, commencing with the POLYGLOTT EDITIONS, by reason of their superior importance.

The first is that of *Complutum* or *Alcala*.



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It is divided into six parts, and may be comprised in four volumes folio. It has the Hebrew, Latin, and Greek, in three distinct columns; the Chaldee paraphrase, with a Latin interpretation, is at the bottom of the page, and the margin is filled with the Hebrew and Chaldee radicals: the fourth, or last volume contains the Greek Testament, with no other translation than the Latin. It was begun in 1502, the impression was printed off in 1517, and it was published in 1522. The expence of the work, which amounted, (it is said), to fifty thousand ducats, was wholly paid by Cardinal Ximenes, one of the noblest and fairest characters that ever appeared on the theatre of the world. "The variety, the grandeur, and "the success of his schemes, leave it doubt-"ful," says Dr. Robertson, "whether his "sagacity in council, his prudence in con-"duct, or his boldness in execution, deserve "the highest praise. His reputation is still "high in Spain, not only for wisdom but

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" sanctity; and he is the only prime mi-
" nister mentioned in history, whom his
" contemporaries reverenced as a saint, and
" to whom the people under his govern-
" ment ascribed the power of working
" miracles." An interesting and pleasing account of his earnestness in promoting the success of the work is given by the writers of his life. The principal persons, employed by the cardinal in the work, were Ælius Antonius Nebrissensis, Demetrius Cretensis, Ferdinandus Pentianus, Lopes de Stunicâ, Alphonsus, a physician of Alcala, Coronel, Zamora, and Vergara. It was printed by Arnoldus Brocarius. " I have often heard," says Gomecius, the cardinal's earliest biographer, " John Brocarius, the son of Ar-
" noldus, relate to his friends, that, when
" his father had put the finishing stroke to
" the last volume, he deputed *him* to carry
" it to the cardinal. John was then a lad;
" and, having drest himself in a very ele-
" gant suit of clothes, he approached Xi-

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" menes, and delivered the volume into his " hands. ' I render thanks to thee, O God!' exclaimed Ximenes, ' that thou hast pro- ' tracted my life to the completion of these ' biblical labours;' " and conversing with " his friends, the cardinal would also ob- " serve, that the various difficulties of his " political situation, so successfully sur- " mounted, afforded him not so much so- " lace, as that which arose from the finish- " ing of the Polyglott."—It is mentioned in one of the Letters of Erasmus, (*tom.* ix. 228, and see *Hist. Lit. Reformationis Pars* I. 60, 61), that Stunica, having found Cardinal Ximenes reading Erasmus's edition of the New Testament, expressed his surprise, that his Eminence should vouchsafe even to cast a look upon a work, so full, as he termed it, of faults and monstrous errors; that the Cardinal with great gravity reproved Stunica for his insolence; and desired him, if he were able, to produce a more valuable work, and in the mean time, not to defame

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the labours of others. The anecdote does honour to the Cardinal's memory, as it shews his candour, and how free he was from that little jealousy of authors, which was one of the strange blemishes in the character of the great rival of his political fame, the Cardinal minister of Lewis the XIIIth.— Cardinal Ximenes died in 1517, not long after the Polyglott was finished. It is certain, that Cardinal Ximenes spared no expence in collecting both Hebrew and Greek manuscripts; but, whether he had any that were truly valuable, has been much doubted. The doubt gave rise to a literary controversy in Germany, which was chiefly managed by Semler and Goeze; the former denying, the latter asserting, the value of the Cardinal's manuscripts. Griesbach, in his Prolegomena to his last edition of the New Testament, and Mr. Marsh, in his notes to Michaelis's Introduction, side with the former. In 1784, when Professor Birch was engaged in his edition of the Bible, Professor

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Moldenhawer went to Alcala, for the purpose of discovering the manuscripts used in the Ximenian polyglott. After much enquiry, he discovered, that, about thirty-five years before, they had been sold to a rocket-maker, of the name of Toryo; and the receipt given to him for his purchase was produced.—Another objection made to the Complutensian Polyglott is, that its editors, in consequence of too high an opinion of the Vulgate, and a mistaken zeal for the Christian religion, introduced sometimes, into the Greek text, readings of the Vulgate, which they did not find in the Greek manuscripts; they are likewise charged with having altered the Greek according to the Hebrew. Both these accusations are shewn to be ungrounded; the former by *Michaelis Prient und exeget. Biblioth.* vol. ix. p. 162. vol. xii. p. 120; the latter *by Eichorn, Einleil. ins. A. T.* vol. i. p. 351.

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Six hundred copies only of the Complutensian Polyglott were printed off. The common price of a copy is from forty pounds to sixty: it is exceedingly difficult to procure complete copies of it; in most copies, the part containing the Hebrew-Chaldaic lexicon is wanting. A small number, (it is thought not more than four), were printed on vellum. One of these, at the sale of the Pinelli library, was sold to Mr. Macartney, for four hundred and eighty-three pounds. For a typographical description of the work, see De Bure's *Bibliographie Instructive, Theologie*, Art. I.

The Complutensian Polyglott was followed and excelled by the *Polyglott of Antwerp*, printed in that city in 1569—1572, in eight volumes folio, including lexicons, grammars, and other literary apparatus, under the direction of Arias Montanus. It contains, besides the whole of the Complutensian edition, a Chaldee paraphrase of part of the Old Testament,

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which Cardinal Ximenes, having particular reasons for not publishing it, had deposited in the Theological library at Complutum. The New Testament has the Syriac Version, and the Latin translation of Santes Pagninus, as reformed by Arias Montanus. Copies of this Polyglott also are very rare, five hundred only having been printed, and a considerable number of those having been sent to Spain and lost in their passage.

*The Polyglott of Paris*, printed in 1628—1645, in ten volumes folio, is one of the most splendid works, that ever issued from the press. It was printed at the expence of Monsieur Le Jay. Cardinal Richelieu offered to defray the whole cost of the impression, and to give Le Jay the whole profit of the sale, on condition, that he should let it pass under his name. On the other hand, the booksellers of London offered him very advantageous terms, on condition, that it should be called, the

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London Polyglott: he refused both offers. Unfortunately the work had not a sale, so that the editor was completely ruined by it. It contains all that is in the Polyglott of Alcala and Antwerp, with the addition of a Syriac and Arabic version of the greatest part of the old, and of the whole of the New Testament, and the Samaritan Pentateuch, and its version. The Chaldee paraphrase, (but not the corresponding Latin translation), was likewise corrected in this Polyglott, from the Venetian and other editions; but the Hebrew text is extremely inaccurate.

Less beautiful, but more accurate, and comprehending more than any of the three preceding Polyglotts, is the *Polyglott of London*, printed in 1653—1657, in six volumes. The editor of it was Dr. Bryan Walton, afterwards Bishop of Chester. Twelve copies of it are said to have been printed on large paper: one, of great beauty, is in the library of St. Paul's Ca-

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thedral; another, was in that of the Count de Lauraguais; another, is in the library of St. John's College at Cambridge. The title expresses its contents. *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta, complectentia Textus Originales, Hebraicum cum Pentateucho Samaritano, Chaldaicum, Græcum, versionumque antiquarum, Samaritanæ, Græcæ LXXII Interpretum, Chaldaicæ, Syriacæ, Arabicæ, Æthiopicæ, Persicæ, Vulgatæ Latinæ, quidquid comparari potuit.* Thus nine languages are used in this edition; but no one book of the Bible is printed with so many. The antiquarian and critical apparatus or appendix in the sixth volume, is extremely valuable, as is also the lexicon, particularly in the Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic parts. The Hebrew and Syriac have been published separately, at Goettengen, in quarto; the Hebrew by J. L. F. Trier, a pupil of Michaelis, in two parts, 1790—1791; the Syriac, with additions and improvements, by Michaelis himself, also in two parts, in

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1788.——We are informed by Castell, in the preface to his Lexicon, that, if Walton and Clarke had lived, it was their intention to have added another volume to the Polyglott. An account of the materials of which it was intended to be composed, is given in a letter of Castell's to Lightfoot. (Op. Posthum. Franeq. 1690. p. 180.

The following works, *Discours historiques sur les Editions dès Bibles Polyglottes* 1781, 12^mo^. *Paris*;—*Dissertations sur les Prolegomenes de Walton*, 8^vo^. *Liege*;—Mr. Bowyer's *Origin of Printing*, 8^vo^. 1776, *London*;—and particularly Mr. Adam Clarke's *Succinct Account of Polyglott Bibles, from the publication of that by Porrus in the year* 1516, *to that of Reinneccius in* 1750, *&c.* 8^vo^. 1802, *Liverpool*, mention several curious facts respecting the London Polyglott.

From the last of these publications, it appears, that the publication of it was first began to be carried into execution in the year 1652, seven years after the year 1645,

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when Le Jay's Polyglott was published; but that before this time, Dr. Walton had collected and arranged his principal materials, and had subscriptions for it to the amount of four thousand pounds. He then, under the sanction of the English Bishops, published his proposals for the publication, with a printed letter signed by himself, Archbishop Usher, and four other distinguished literary characters, and dated the first of March, in the year 1652. The Protector greatly encouraged the undertaking: the council of state gave permission to import the paper duty free;—this permission was continued by the Protector, after he had dissolved the Rump Parliament; and there is reason to suppose the Protector and council contributed, out of the public money, one thousand pounds to begin the work. The four thousand pounds subscribed before the proposals for subscription were issued, were doubled before the September following. The whole

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was paid into the hands of Mr. William Humble, the treasurer of the work. The first volume was put to the press about the beginning of October 1653, the whole work was finished in 1657, three years before the Restoration. After the Restoration, Doctor Walton presented the work to King Charles the Second, who made him his chaplain in ordinary, and, in 1661, promoted him to the Bishoprick of Chester. His obligations to the Protector and council, who had so nobly encouraged his work, the Doctor acknowledged in his preface, as it stood originally, in very handsome terms; after the Restoration, the two last leaves of the preface were cancelled, and their places supplied with three others: in those, his obligations to the council and Protector are very obscurely expressed; and in mentioning Charles the First, he speaks of him as a blessed spirit, ἐν ἁγιοις. In the cancelled leaves, the epithets of rank, *Serenissimus, Illustrissimus, et Honoratissimus*, were not

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inserted, but they found their place in the substituted leaves; several complaints and invectives are introduced in them against the republicans; and there are many other variations. From the circumstances we have noticed, the copies which have the original leaves are called the *Republican*, those which have the substituted leaves are called the *Loyal* copies: but, in the Loyal copies themselves some differences have been found, so that there must have been two copies even of those. Perhaps the Republican leaves were cancelled as early as the resignation of Richard Cromwell, in 1659, which was two years after the Polyglott was finished.

To complete the London Polyglott, two works must be added, the *Paraphrasis Chaldaica in librum priorem et posteriorem Chronicorum: auctore Rabbi Josepho, rectore Academiæ in Syria, a Davide Wilkins, Amstel.* 1715, 4*to*. and the *Lexicon Heptaglotton of Castell, in 2 volumes folio, London* 1669.

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Mr. Clarke pronounces Castell's Lexicon to be, " probably the greatest and most per- " fect work of the kind ever performed by " human industry and learning." He informs us that " Dr. Castell laboured at it for " seventeen years, from sixteen to eighteen " hours each day; during which time he " maintained in his own house, at his own " cost, seven Englishmen and seven fo- " reigners." Some copies of the work have in the title, " Londini, Scott, 1686," which shews there was a reimpression of the title.

The purchaser of the London Polyglott should also procure Doctor Owen's *Considerations on the Polyglott*, 1658; Doctor Walton's reply, *The Considerator considered, &c.* 1659; and, (a work of much more real importance than either), Doctor Walton's *Introductio ad lectionem Linguarum orientalium, &c. London* 1654, 18*mo.* reprinted with additions in the following year. This, to use Mr. Clarke's words, was the harbinger of the inestimable Polyglott.

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Inestimable the Polyglott certainly is; and our wonder at the spirit and perseverance, with which it was conducted, will increase, if we recollect that it was begun and completed, in the midst of the public and private distress and dismay of the country, during the usurpation. That there is some incorrectness in the original texts, and some inaccuracy in the translations, must be admitted; but those will readily excuse them, who know the minute attention required for collations, the wearisomeness inseparable from such a task, &c. and the inconceivable difficulty of a first translation from a dead language. Besides,—we have now an abundance of materials for such a work, which Walton and his associates were not possessed of.

"Who then," let us exclaim with Mr. Clarke, "is that *Mæcenas bishop*, who will "step forth, and invite the clergy, the laity, "and even the government itself, to assist "him in publishing a *second* edition of the

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" English Polyglott, as far superior to the " present, as that is to all other works of " the kind? Let such an one *shew himself*, " and he shall not lack encouragement and " support: and may the hand of his God be " upon him for good!"

It is observable that in the first set of treatises forming the *Apparatus Criticus*, in the London Polyglott, there is an anonymous treatise, intitled, *Explicatio Idiotismorum seu Proprietatum linguæ Hebraicæ et Græcæ quæ sæpius in scripturis occurrant*. The author asks, in what manner the sense of scripture is to be determined: to this question he gives five answers. Over the Fourth and Fifth answers, a paper, containing other Fourth and Fifth answers, is pasted. The Original Fourth and Fifth answers are expressed in the language of a Roman Catholic; the Pasted Fourth and Fifth answers are expressed in the language of an High-church Protestant of the Church of England. Who was the



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Author of the Treatise is unknown. In the last page of sheet B of the preface, Doctor Walton says, "*His annectimus variorum auc-* "*torum tractatus utilissimos, Edwardi Brere-* "*wood, Jacobi Tyrini, &c. &c. de veterum* "*nummis, Hebræis, Græcis, Latinis, et de* "*ponderibus et mensuris; (quibus quædam de* "*variis siclorum figuris eorumque explicatione* "*ex propriis observationibus adjecimus); de* "*Idiotismis etiam præcipuis et proprietatibus* "*scripturæ peculiaribus.*" It seems, therefore, clear, that the treatise in question was not written by Walton; and, as it is mentioned in the last sentence, it was probably written by some unknown hand, included by Walton in the *et cetera* after *Jacobi Tyrini.*

The Original Text is thus expressed.

*Quartò, ex traditione, vel interpretatione S. Ecclesiæ, ex decretis conciliorum, vel summorum Pontificum, ex consensu SS. Patrum, et horum vel multorum vel paucorum, sancti-*

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*tate et eruditione prælustrium, ex unanimi conspiratione Doctorum et Interpretum, sæpe constare potest de vero et literali sensu scripturæ.*

*Quinto, conferre antecedentia et consequentia cum loco, cujus sensus est dubius, plurimum juvat ad eundem elucidandum: et, si quidem omnia rectè congruant, sensum habebis genuinum et literalem. Quod si omnia cum pluribus sensibus recte conveniant, plures erunt loci illius sensus literales: et vel omnes æquè immediate intenti à spiritu sancto, vel unus primariò, vel alii secundario, seu mediantè priore sensu, cujus quodammodo sunt appendices.*

*Ubi hæc omnia adminicula vel desunt, vel non juvant, ex idiotismis Hebraicis Græcisve, quos jam exposui, subsidia quærantur: quærantur etiam ex decursu commentarii. Spero nullum Bibliorum locum non sat enodatum elucidatumve, quantum fert humani ingenii tenuitas, ab accurato lectore deprehensum iri.*

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The Pasted Text is thus expressed.

*Quartò. Ex traditione, vel interpretatione S. Ecclesiæ ex decretis conciliorum, &c. ex consensu SS. Patrum, et illorum vel multorum vel paucorum sanctitate et eruditione prælustrium, ex unanimi conspiratione Doctorum et Interpretum, sæpe constare potest de vero et literali sensu sacræ scripturæ.*

*Quinto. Conferre antecedentia et consequentia cum loco, cujus sensus est dubius plurimum confert ad eundem elucidandum, &c.*

*Ubi hæc omnia adminicula vel desunt vel non juvant, ex idiotismis Hebraicis Græcisve, quos jam exposui, subsidia quærantur.*

Every copy of the Polyglott examined by the writer or his friends has the Pasted text: *he has heard* that twelve copies, and twelve copies only, are without it.

It is observable that some bibliographers and booksellers talk of copies of Walton's Polyglott, which have a double dedication, one to *the Protector*, the other to *Charles*

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*the Second*:—this double dedication has been strongly denied; and Mr. Clarke observes that "so far is a double Dedication "from the truth, that the work has no De- "dication at all." This certainly is the case of all the copies which have fallen under the writer's observation: but, a literary gentleman has assured him, that he himself has seen a copy with the Dedication to Charles the Second. Such a Dedication may have been inserted in the copy presented by Walton to the king, and in a few more copies.

*The Leipsic Polyglott* is comprised in three volumes folio, 1747, 1750, 1751. The first volume comprises the New Testament: it was first printed at Leipsic, in 1713, folio, and reprinted, or perhaps only republished with a new title, in 1747. It contains the Greek text between the Syriac and Vulgar Greek translations; Schmidt's Latin and Luther's German versions, with various readings from Mill and Kuster's editions; Latin

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Notes, and a large critical Appendix. The two last volumes comprize the Old Testament: the text of it according to the Masoritic revision, with the points, the Septuagint from Grabe's edition of the Alexandrine manuscript, corrected as far as could be, by Origen's asterisks and obeluses; with a Latin translation of it by Schmidius, and with Luther's translation, and notes of the various readings of the Vatican and other principal manuscripts, and with philological and explanatory notes. The cheapness of this edition makes it an useful substitute for the former Polyglotts.

## XI.

The first of the GREEK PRINTED EDITIONS of the New Testament, in point of time, was that of *Erasmus*, with a new Latin translation. He published five editions of it, in the years 1516, 1519, 1522, 1527, and 1535. The edition of 1519 is

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most esteemed. The two last were altered in many places, especially in the Revelation of St. John, from the Complutensian edition. A brief to Erasmus from pope Leo the Xth is prefixed to it. Albertus, Cardinal and Archbishop of Mentz, writ him a most obliging letter, upon his edition, highly commending it, and desiring to see him. He sent him, with the letter, a golden cup, "amplum et grave," says Erasmus, "et "opere spectandum. Quin et nomen in- "didit. Ait vocari poculum amoris, ex "quo, qui biberint, protinus benevolentiâ "mutuâ conglutinari. Si vera sunt hæc, "utinam theologi Lovanienses ex eâ mecum "potassent ante annos duos!" It is observable, that the Greek text of Erasmus latinises, or, in other words, is made to conform to the Vulgate translation, even more than that of Complutum, against which he strongly urged the charge of latinising. This edition involved Erasmus in a quarrel with the divines of Louvain, and with the

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Spanish divines, employed on the Complutensian Polyglott. The principal of these was Stunica, a man of real learning. The controversy between him and Erasmus is instructive and interesting. In many instances Stunica had the advantage over Erasmus: but Erasmus had greatly the advantage over Lee, his English antagonist.

We have mentioned Erasmus as the first editor of the Greek New Testament. The Complutensian edition was printed in 1514, two years before the first edition of Erasmus: but it was not published till 1517; and Erasmus did not get a copy of it till 1522, after the publication of his third edition. De Missy, in his unfinished Essay on the Complutensian Polyglott, published at the end of the second edition of Bowyer's Origin of Printing, suggests the Complutensian New Testament was antedated "from "a jealousy of the editors of appearing as "earlier editors of so notable a work than

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"Erasmus." This appears to deserve examination.

The next edition of the New Testament in Greek, is that inserted in the *Complutensian Polyglott*. The learned agree in wishing the editors had described, or, at least, specified the manuscripts they made use of. The editors speak highly of them: but this was, when the number of known manuscripts was small, and manuscript criticism was in its infancy; so that, without impeaching either their candour or their judgment, their assertions, in this respect, must be understood with much limitation. It has been charged on them, that they sometimes altered the Greek text, without the authority of a single manuscript, to make it conform to the Latin. Against this charge they have been defended by Goeze, and, to a certain extent, by Griesbach and Marsh. The strongest proof in support of the charge is, that, after Stunica had, in the bitterest terms, reproached Erasmus with

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his omission of the celebrated verse of The Heavenly Witnesses,* and Erasmus had, with equal vehemence, challenged Stunica to produce a single Greek manuscript in its support, he did not cite one Greek manuscript for it, but persisted in arguing from the authority of the Latin. This, the late Dr. Travis, the zealous defender of the verse, owns himself unable to account for satisfactorily. The fate of their manuscripts has been already mentioned.

The edition of *de Colines*, or *Colinaeus*, Paris 1534, 8vo, formed from manuscripts collected by himself, as we learn from Mill and Griesbach, in his *Symbolæ Criticæ*, was considered by the late Dr. Harwood, an excellent judge, to exhibit a more perfect text than any other edition.

The editions of *Robert Stephens* are next to be considered. It is observable, that, while almost every other art has, from the time of its first invention, been in a state of

* NOTE II.

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gradual improvement to the present time, the art of printing, very soon after its first appearance, attained a degree of perfection, in many respects superior to its present state. Of this, the Greek editions of the New Testament by Robert Stephens, are a striking example. For exquisite beauty and delicacy of type, elegance and proper disposition of contractions, smoothness and softness of paper, liquid clearness of ink, and evenness of lines and letters, they have never been surpassed, and, in the opinion of many, never equalled. There are four editions of them published by himself, in 1546, 1549, 1550, and 1551. His son published a fifth edition in 1569. The third of these is in folio, and has the readings of sixteen manuscripts, in the margin. The two first are in 16^mo^, and of those, the first is the most correct. There is prefixed to them an address, by Robert Stephens, to his readers, beginning, " O mirificam regis " nostri optimi et præstantissimi principis

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" liberalitatem." From this they have been generally termed the Mirificam editions. The correctness of these editions is equal to their beauty. Till lately, an opinion generally prevailed, that the types were absolutely lost; but in the *Essai Historique sur l'origine des characteres orientaux de l'imprimerie royale, et sur les characteres Grecs de François* I^er^. *appellés communement Grecs du Roi,* published by Mr. de Guignes, in the first volume of the *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliotheque du Roi,* it appears that the puncheons and matrices, used by Robert Stephens in these celebrated editions, are still preserved in the Imprimerie Royale at Paris. From the same work we learn, that in 1700 the University of Cambridge applied to the King of France to have a cast of the types; that a proposal was made them on the part of the king, that in the title-pages of the works printed by them, after the words " *typis academicis*" there should be added, *caracteribus Græcis*

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*e typographeio regio Parisiensi*: that the University refused to accede to the proposal; and that, in consequence of the refusal, the negociation went off.

The first edition of *Beza* was printed in 1565; he principally follows in it the third edition of Robert Stephens. He printed other editions in 1576, 1582, 1589, 1598. They do not contain, every where, the same text. In his choice of readings he is accused of being influenced by his Calvinistic prejudices.

The celebrated edition of the *Elzevirs* was first printed at Leyden, in 1624. It was printed from the third edition of Robert Stephens: where it varies from that edition, it follows, generally, the edition of Beza. By this edition, the text, which had fluctuated in the preceding editions, acquired a consistency. It was generally followed in all the subsequent editions. It has deservedly, therefore, obtained the appella-

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tion of *Editio recepta*. The editors of it are unknown.

The celebrated edition of the Rev. *John Mill* was published at Oxford in 1707, after an assiduous labour of thirty years. He survived the publication of it only fourteen days. He inserted in his edition, all the collections of various readings, which had been made before his time; he collated several original editions; procured extracts from Greek manuscripts, which had never been collated; and, in many instances, added readings from the ancient versions, and from the quotations of them in the works of the ancient fathers. The whole of the various readings collected by him, are said, without any improbability, to amount to thirty thousand. He has enriched his work with most learned prolegomena, and a clear and accurate description of his manuscripts. He took the third edition of Stephens for his text. He shews

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the highest reverence for the Vulgate, but thinks slightly of the Alexandrine manuscript. His work formed a new æra in Biblical criticism. It was reprinted by Ludolph Kuster, at Rotterdam, in 1710, with the readings of twelve additional manuscripts. While sacred criticism lasts, his learning, indefatigable industry, and modest candour, will be spoken of with the highest praise.

The edition of *John Albert Bengel,* Abbot of Alspirspack, in the dutchy of Wurtemberg, was published in 1734. He prefixed to it his "*Introductio in Crisin Novi Testa-*"*menti*;" and subjoined to it, his "*Appa-*"*ratus Criticus & Epilogus.*" He altered the text, where he thought it might be improved; but, except in the Apocalypse, he studiously avoided inserting in the text any reading, which was not in some printed edition. Under the text, he placed some select readings, reserving the whole collection of various readings, and his own sen-

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timents upon them, for his Apparatus Criticus. He expressed his opinion of these marginal readings by the Greek letters, α, β, γ, δ, and ε. α denotes, that he held the reading to be genuine; β, that he thought its genuineness was not absolutely certain, but that the reading appeared to him preferable to that in the text; γ, that the reading in the margin was of equal value with the reading in the text; δ, that the marginal reading seemed of less value; and ε, that he thought it absolutely spurious, though some critics defended it. Several small editions of Bengel's New Testament have been published in Germany. His "*Gnomon*," which is a collection of explanatory notes upon the New Testament, does not give a very high notion of his own intelligence of the sacred book.

All former editions of the Greek Testament were surpassed by that of *John James Wetstein*; of which, it is sufficient to mention, that Michaelis, his professed adversary,

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and who loses no opportunity of speaking harshly of him, says, that it is, of all editions of the Greek Testament, the most important, and the most necessary to those, who are engaged in sacred criticism: and, that the Rev. Herbert Marsh, the celebrated translator of Michaelis, and, perhaps, the best judge now living of the merit of such a work, calls it by the emphatic appellation, of the Invaluable Book. It was published in two volumes folio, in 1751, at Amsterdam. Wetstein thinks slightly, not to say, contemptuously, (contemptuous expressions were unfortunately too familiar to him), both of the Latin Vulgate and the Alexandrine manuscript. He adopted for his text the *editio recepta* of the Elzevirs. His collection of various readings far surpasses that of Mill or Bengel. His notes are particularly valuable, for the copious extracts he has made from the Rabbinical writers. These greatly serve to explain the idiom and turn of expression used by the Apos-



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tolic writers and Evangelists. The editions of his *Prolegomena* and of his *Libelli ad Crisin atque Interpretationem Novi Testamenti*, by Dr. Semler, are a mine of recondite and curious Biblical learning. After every deduction is made from the merit of his edition, on account of the supposed Arianism and intemperate spirit of the author, much, very much will remain, that deserves the highest praise.

The acknowledged merit of Wetstein's edition excited a general spirit of emulation among the writers of Germany. The first, in time, as in eminence, was Dr. *John James Griesbach*, whose edition of the New Testament was first published in 1775—1777, in two volumes octavo, at Halle. In 1796, the first volume was reprinted, under the patronage, and at the expence of his Grace the Duke of Grafton. It has extracts from two hundred manuscripts, in addition to those quoted in the former edition. He has collated all the Latin versions published

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by Sabatier and Blanchini. His object is to give a select and choice collection of the various readings produced by Mill, Bengel, and Wetstein, and of his own extracts, omitting all such as are trifling in themselves, supported by little authority, or evidently only errata. Griesbach's edition is the text book, used by the students in the German Universities. Most probably, like Heyne's Virgil, it will become the general book of scholars, masters, and literati. Previously to his publication of his edition of the Greek Testament, Griesbach published his *Synopsis*. It was printed in 8vo. in 1774, under the title, *Libri Historici Novi Testamenti*. In the year following the copies, then remaining unsold of the very same work, were given the title *Synopsis Evangeliorum Matthæi, Marci, et Lucæ*. A second and improved edition of it was printed in 1796, at Halle, in 8vo. Dr. Griesbach has likewise undertaken to publish an edition in 8vo. and another in 4to.

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(the letter of the quarto edition in Didot's types), of the New Testament, with a selection from the larger work, of such various readings as are considered in that work to be better than, or at least equal to, the received text.

The last critical edition of the Gospels in Greek was printed at Oxford, in 1798, by *Professor White*. It is a small 8vo. very elegantly and correctly printed. The editor abstains from all alterations whatever of the commonly received text; but at the same time, following the example of Origen, in his Hexaplar edition of the LXX, contrives to exhibit very distinctly to the reader's eye, all those variations found in ancient MSS. which Dr. Griesbach considers of authority either *superior* or *equal* to the common text.

In 1786, *Professor Alter* published at Vienna, in two volumes 8vo, Codex Lambecii, 1, in the Imperial library, and thence styled by him the *Codex Vindobonensis*. He

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has corrected it occasionally from the edition published by Robert Stephens in 1546, subjoining, at the end of each volume, a list of these corrections, under the title of *Vitia Codicis Vindobonensis:* he has added the various readings from many Greek manuscripts, from the Cophtic and Slavonian versions, and from two Latin versions in the Imperial library.

To the foregoing editions must be added the *Quatuor Evangelia Græca, cum variantibus lectionibus a textu Codd. MSS. Bibliothecæ Vaticanæ, Barberinæ, Laurentianæ, Vindobonensis, Escurialensis, Hauniensis regiæ, quibus accedunt lectiones versionum Syrarum, Veteris, Philoxenianæ, et Hierosolymitanæ, jussu et sumptibus regiis, edidit Andreas Birch. Hauniæ*, 1788, *fol. et* 4^to^. This is a noble fruit of royal munificence. Professors Birch, Alter, and Moldenhawer, were employed, and their expences defrayed, by the present king of Denmark, to travel into Germany, Italy, France, and

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Spain, to collate the manuscripts of the sacred text. The work now under consideration is the result of their united labours. The text is that of Mill: the edition is particularly valuable, for the large extracts from the Codex Vaticanus. Professor Birch has since published at Copenhagen, a collection of various readings to the Acts, Epistles, and Evangelists, from several manuscripts, particularly the Vatican; but they are not accompanied with the Greek text, as his various readings to the Gospels are. For the manuscripts used by Blanchini, see Semler's Appendix to Wetstein, 635—638.

It remains only to take notice of the edition of the Greek Testament, published by *Matthæi*, formerly Professor in Moscow, now in Wittemberg, with various readings from the Moscow manuscripts, the Latin Vulgate from a Demedovian manuscript, many remarks, Greek scholia, and copperplates representing the characters of his

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Greek manuscripts. Michaelis says, the author was an age behind the rest of Germany in sacred criticism, but pronounces his work absolutely necessary for every Biblical critic.

There are many other respectable editions of the Greek Testament; but those we have mentioned are confessedly the principal. The fifth of Erasmus's editions, with a slight mixture of the edition in the Complutensian Polyglott, is the principal edition from which almost all the subsequent editions have been taken. This, Dr. Griesbach, in his excellent prolegomena, has placed beyond controversy. "All the "modern editions," he says, "follow that "of the Elzevirs; that was taken from the "edition of Beza, and the third of Robert "Stephens; Beza copied the third of Robert "Stephens, except in some places, where "he varied from it arbitrarily, and without "sufficient authority. The third of Ste-"phens immediately follows the fifth of

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"Erasmus's editions, except in a very few "places in the Apocalypse, where he pre- "ferred to it the Complutensian edition. "Erasmus formed the text as well as he "could from a small number of manu- "scripts, and those of a recent date, and "without further aid than an interpolated "edition of the Vulgate, and bad editions "of a few of the fathers." The principal editions, in which Erasmus and the Complutensians have not been followed, are those of Colinæus, Mr. Bowyer, Dr. Harwood, Professor Alter, and Griesbach. It were greatly to be wished, that some person would collect and publish together, with such observations and illustrations as the subject occasionally requires, the various prolegomena of Walton, Mill, Wetstein, and Griesbach; the controversy between Erasmus and the Spanish divines, and Lee, and the Prefaces of Kennicott, Kipling, and Woide; with a succinct, but complete, account of the chief manuscripts and printed

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editions of the sacred text.—Such a manual would be of the greatest use.

## XII.

It seems necessary to take some notice OF THE VERSIONS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT INTO THE MODERN GREEK. As the circumstances respecting the separation of the Greek Church from the Church of Rome, and the present state of the Greek Church, are interesting and not generally known, it may not be unacceptable to the reader, to be presented with a detail of them.

XII. 1. *The progress of the Church of Constantinople, from a very humble station to the eminent rank she afterwards obtained* in the Christian hierarchy, is a curious and important event in ecclesiastical history. Before the seat of the Roman empire was transferred to Constantinople, the Church had the three Patriarchs of Rome, Antioch,

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and Alexandria. Three dioceses were independent of them, and were subject, each, to its primate: that of Asia, to the primate of Ephesus; that of Thrace, to the primate of Heraclea; and that of Pontus, to the primate of Cesarea. It is not clear, that the Church of Constantinople had her peculiar bishop; at most, the bishoprick was inconsiderable, and the bishop subject to the metropolitan of Heraclea. After the translation of the seat of empire to Constantinople, the bishops of Constantinople acquired importance; by degrees, they obtained ecclesiastical jurisdiction over Thrace, Asia, and Pontus, and were elevated to the rank of patriarch. The same rank was conferred on the bishop of Jerusalem. Thus, for a considerable period of time, the five patriarchs of the Christian world, were those of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, Constantinople, and Jerusalem. In the course of time, the patriarch of Constantinople raised himself above the

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other oriental patriarchs, and finally assumed the title of Oecumenical or Universal Patriarch. The popes opposed this attempt, and preserved their own rights; and therefore, as Mr. Gibbon observes, "till "the great division of the Church, the "Roman bishop had ever been respected "by the orientalists, as the first of the five "patriarchs." Vol. vi. p. 400, quarto edition.

Even in matters of ceremony in civil concerns, Constantinople yielded to Rome: the consul of the west preceded the consul of the east. After the separation of the Greek from the Latin Church, the five patriarchs were represented by five Churches in Rome: the Roman patriarchate, by the Church of St. John of Lateran; the patriarchate of Constantinople by the Church of St. Peter, in the Vatican; the patriarchate of Alexandria, by the Church of St. Paul; the patriarchate of Antioch, by the Church of St. Mary the Greater; and the patriarchate of Jerusalem, by the Church of St.

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Laurence. See *Onuphrius de Episcopatibus, titulis et diaconiis Cardinalium.*

The points, which the Greeks objected to the Latin Church, and upon which they professed to justify their separation from her, were, 1st, that in the article of the symbol or creed of Constantinople, which mentions the procession of the Holy Ghost, the Latin Church inserted the word "*filioque*," to describe the double procession of the Spirit from the Father and Son; 2dly, that the Latin Church acknowledged the spiritual supremacy of the Pope; and 3dly, that, in the consecration at the sacrifice of the altar, the Latin Church used unleavened bread. The history of the temporary reunion of the Churches at the council of Florence is well known.—The attempts, which, about the middle of the sixteenth century, were set on foot, to lead the Greeks of the Levant to a reunion with the see of Rome, and the successful exertions of Cyrillus Lucaris, the patriarch of Con-

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stantinople, to prevent it, are also known: but a full and judicious history of them appears to be wanting.

XII. 2. *With respect to the present state of the Greek Church*, wherever the Turkish empire extends the Greek Church is in a state of subjection; but, in an immense part of the globe, as both the Russias, Georgia, Circassia, Mingrelia, and the islands in the Mediterranean belonging to the Venetians, the Greek Church is the Church of the state. Even in his present condition of degradation, the patriarch of Constantinople holds his pre-eminence over every other prelate of the Greek Church. Mr. Dallaway observes, that "since the "close of the sixteenth century, the Russian "Church has claimed a jurisdiction inde- "pendent of the see of Constantinople; "nevertheless, appeals have been made to "that see, in cases of extraordinary im- "portance." This is confirmed by Mr. King, in his "Rites and Ceremonies of the

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"Greek Church in Russia." Thus, ever since the separation of the Churches, each of the two prelates, the bishop of Rome and the patriarch of Constantinople, has been the centre of a different system.

XII. 3. Though Constantine transferred the seat of the Roman empire to Constantinople, he did not impose on the new capital, or the adjacent territory, the Roman language: but, from the multitude of his Latin followers, and attendants on his court, many Latin phrases, and even Latin words, were insensibly introduced into the language of the country. A similar effect must have been produced by the Venetian and French conquests of Constantinople, and by the settlements made in different parts of the empire, by a large number of Crusaders, who, either in their passage to the Holy Land, or on their return from it, must, from a multitude of causes, have established themselves in Constantinople, or the adjacent countries. A similar effect,

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but in a greater degree, was necessarily produced by the conquests of the Turks. These circumstances have produced almost a new language. It is called *Romeika*, and bears the same resemblance to the antient Greek, as the Italian to the Latin, the Cophtic to the Ægyptian, the Syriac to the Arabic, or the Rabbinical to the antient Hebrew. Between the classical writers in the antient language of Greece and the Byzantine historians, the difference is striking; yet, in the writings of the latter, nothing of the Romeika is discoverable. Probably, till the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, the antient Greek, with some debasement, was the general language in the eastern empire, of government, religion, and literature. To the monastic communities of the Greeks, even in the present degraded state of that country, sacred learning, and particularly Biblical literature, have great obligations. Hopes are entertained, that some of the various monasteries of

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Greek religious, which still exist in many parts of the European, African, and Asiatic dominions of the Turks, contain Biblical treasures of high value. Of these monasteries none are more famous than those on mount Athos, a ridge of mountains near the Gulph of Contessa in Macedonia. One of the mountains is considerably higher than the others; to that, the appellation of mount Athos is often exclusively applied. The monasteries are twenty-four in number, and are supposed to contain together four thousand religious. The severity of their lives, and their incessant prayer, are mentioned by every traveller. They are held by all the Greek Church in the highest esteem, and its dignitaries are often chosen from among them. It seems to be agreed, that the famous Alexandrine manuscript comes from one of these monasteries. A small number of manuscripts of equal value would be an inestimable treasure: but these expectations are very much damped by the

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account given by father Sicard, of the result of his researches in different monasteries in Egypt.

XII. 4. Mr. Simon, in his Critical History of the New Testament, Part II. ch. xx. observes, that, "although the Greeks have "not spoken their antient Greek tongue "for some years, as being no longer under-"stood by the people, nevertheless they "have not composed, even to this present "time, *any translation of the Bible in the* "*vulgar Greek.*" The first translation of the New Testament was printed at Geneva, in one volume 4to, in 1638, in two columns, one containing the antient, the other containing the modern Greek. It was published at the expence of the United Provinces, upon the solicitation of Cornelius Haga, their Ambassador at Constantinople, by certain Greeks inclining, as Mr. Simon supposes, to Calvinism. That writer assures us, that it is one of the most exact and judicious translations that have been com-



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posed in the latter ages. But from those, for whose use it was designed, it met with no favour. "Si quæras," says Largius, in his dissertation on this edition, "in quo "pretio hæc versio sit Græcis habita, om- "nino respondendum fuerit, pretium vix "adeo magnum illam fuisse consecutam "in Græcia." Helladius, cited by Masch, has a remark on the fate of this version, which deserves attention. "If," he observes, "the effect of the version should be "to supersede entirely the antient text, it "were greatly to be feared, that the Greeks "at large would fall into complete barba- "rism; the sacred Scripture in the antient "Greek being the only means they have, "by which, as an easy road, they can ar- "rive at the intelligence of other authors, "particularly the holy fathers." A new edition of the former translation, but with some alteration, was published at London, in 1703, in one volume, 12mo, by Seraphin, a monk of Mitylene. He prefixed to it a

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Preface, which gave offence to the Greek bishops, particularly the patriarch of Constantinople. By his order it was committed to the flames: this has made the copies of this edition extremely rare: it was reprinted in 1705. In that edition, the passages in the Preface objected to by the Greek prelates were omitted. A more correct edition of it was printed at Halle, in Saxony, in 1710, in one volume 12^mo^, under the patronage, and at the expence, of Sophia Louisa, the Queen of Prussia. Different parts of the New Testament have been translated, at different times, into the modern Greek; some of them by the Jews. The Greeks have an old translation of the Psalter. The authors to be consulted on this subject are, Joh. Mich. Langius, *Philologia Barbaro-Græca, Norimbergæ*, 1708, 4^to^, and Alexander Helladius, *Status Præsens Ecclesiæ Græcæ.*

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## XIII.

XIII. 1. Among the ORIENTAL VERSIONS the *Syriac* claims the first place, from the immense territory where it is spoken, having always been the language of learning, and of the higher orders of life, from the mountains of Assyria to the Red-Sea. The inhabitants of Syria must be divided into the descendants of those inhabitants of the country, who were conquered by the Greeks of the Lower Empire; the Greeks, or the descendants of the Greek conquerors; and the present rulers of the country, the Ottoman Turks. The Greeks must be subdivided into those, who are separated from the Church of Rome, and the Latin Greeks, or those who are reunited to that Church. The Maronites descend from the original inhabitants of the country; they have their name from a monk called Maron, and profess to have kept inviolate the orthodoxy of their religious credence. That Nestori-

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anism gained some ground among them, is probable; but there seems reason to suppose, that the body at large preserved its integrity. They occupy, almost exclusively, the country from the ridge of mount Libanus to the shores of Tripoli. Mr. Volney computes their population at more than one hundred and fifteen thousand persons. They acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope: they are governed by a patriarch; he assumes the title of patriarch of Antioch; his residence is at Canubin, a monastery celebrated for its high antiquity: they have many bishops, and many convents. All the ceremonies of religion are performed among them without restraint; and their chapels have bells, a thing unheard of in any other part of Turkey. The mass is celebrated in Syriac; but the Gospel is read aloud in Arabic. There is an Hospitium for them at Rome, where many of the youth receive a gratuitous education. It has produced some scholars of distinction; particularly the celebrated Asseman-

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nis, to whom sacred literature is under great obligations. While the Syriac language was spoken, it was distinguished into three dialects; the Aramean, which was the dialect of Edessa, Haran, and Mesopotamia; that of Palestine, which was the dialect of Damascus, the Lebanon, and the internal part of Syria; and the Nabathæan Chaldee, spoken in the mountains of Assyria, and the Irak, but no longer a spoken language; so that, except in the proceedings of government, where the Turkish language is used, the language of Syria is the Arabic.

The most antient of the Syriac versions of the sacred text is called, the *Peshito*, or the literal; it is in general use among the Syriac Christians. It was first made known in Europe, by Moses of Marden, who was sent by Ignatius, patriarch of the Maronite Christians, in the year 1552, to pope Julius the IIId, to acknowledge the supremacy of the Roman pontiff. The New Testament was first published by Widman-

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stadt at Vienna, in 1555; it is much esteemed for its correctness; but it does not contain four of the Catholic Epistles, or the Apocalypse, from their not being inserted in the manuscript. This work has since been reprinted by Gulbirius, at Hamburgh, in 8°. 1664; but the best edition is that of Leusden and Schaaf, 1709, 4°. reprinted in 1717. The edition of Gulbirius, and that of Leusden and Schaaf, have lexicons subjoined to them. The readings of the Peshito coincide most remarkably with those of the Vulgate; which seems to afford a conclusive argument in favour of the antiquity of both the versions. It certainly was made before the fourth, and there are arguments to shew it was made at the end of the first, or the beginning of the second century. There are more modern Syriac versions of the New Testament, the principal of which is the *Philoxenian*, which made its appearance in the sixth century. Dr. Ridley wrote a treatise on it. Dr.

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White, whose Bampton Lectures have obtained the applause of every man of taste, and extorted the praise even of Mr. Gibbon, has published the whole of this version, with notes, at Oxford.

The most satisfactory information on the different Syriac versions is to be obtained from the following work: *Novi Testamenti Versiones Syriacæ, Simplex, Philoxenianæ et Hierosolymitanæ, denuo examinatæ, et ad fidem Codicum manuscriptorum in Bibliothecarum Vaticanæ, Anglicæ, Assemannianæ, Mediceæ, Regiæ, aliarumque, novis observationibus atque tabulis ære incisis illustratæ, a Jacobi Georgio Christiano Adler. Hafniæ,* 1789, 4°.

XIII. 2. The *Cophtes*, according to Mr. Volney, are the descendants of that mixture of Egyptians, Persians, and, above all, Greeks, who, under the Ptolemies and Constantines, were long in possession of Egypt. In the disputes, which arose in the Church respecting the second person of the

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Trinity, the Nestorians maintained, that, as there were two natures, there must be two persons in Jesus Christ. Eutyches, falling into the opposite extreme, contended, that, as in Jesus Christ there was but one person, there consequently was but one nature. The council of Chalcedon condemned the doctrine of Eutyches: some of the Emperors persecuted, some were favourable to the Eutychians. Among the former were, Justin the IId, Tiberius, and Maurice: their attempts to destroy Eutychianism might have succeeded, if it had not been for a monk of the name of James, who, with unwearied industry and address, supported the cause of Eutychianism. Thus Egypt was divided into two parties. Those, who in imitation of the Emperor, submitted to the decrees of the council of Chalcedon, were called Melchites or Royalists, from Melek, an Arabian word, that signifies king: those who resisted the decrees of the council, were, from the leader of their

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party, called Jacobites. Afterwards, they were called Cophtes.—Some have supposed, that they obtained this name from the Saracens having shortened the word, Jacobites, into that word: but it is generally understood, that they derive it from the city Coptos in the Saide.—Except their errors respecting the second person of the blessed Trinity, little distinguishes them from the general body of Roman Catholics: but their aversion from the Roman Catholics is great, and they constantly brand them with the name of Nestorians. They are governed by a patriarch. He has under him eleven or twelve bishops, and several priests or deacons: his residence is at Grand Cairo. The monasteries of St. Paul, St. Anthony, and St. Macarius, are subject to him. The two first are in the Lower Thebaide; the last is in the desert of Sceté. A very interesting account is given by father Sicard, in the fifth volume of the new edition of the *Lettres édifiantes et cu-*

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*rieuses*, of these celebrated monasteries. Several families of the Cophtes reside in the Delta; but the greatest part of them inhabit the Saide, or the part of Egypt extending from Cairo upwards to Assouan or Syene. In 639, the Cophtes invited the Saracens into Egypt: and, in return, were for some time treated kindly by them. But afterwards, the Saracens made no distinction between them and their other Greek subjects. About the end of the fifth century of the Hegira, the Caliph Walid I. prohibited the Greek tongue throughout his whole empire. From that time the Cophtic, like the other languages of the nations subdued by the Saracens, ceased to be a spoken language: but it has been preserved in the Scriptures and books of devotion. Mr. Volney observes, that "the "form of the Cophtic letters, and the "greater part of their words, demonstrate, "that the Greek nation, during the thou- "sand years it continued in Egypt, has left

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" deep marks of its power and influence. " But, on the other hand, the Cophtic al- " phabet has five letters, and the language " a number of words, which may be con- " sidered as the remains of the ancient " Egyptian." Its last existence was among the rude peasants of the Nile. The hopes that valuable manuscripts might be discovered in some of the Cophtic monasteries, are not encouraged by the accounts given of these monasteries, by father Sicard.

The Cophtic version was printed with a Latin translation at Oxford, in 1716, by David Wilkins, properly Wilkie, a native of Memel in Prussia. He afterwards published an edition of the Pentateuch, in the same language, London, 1731. La Croze, *Thesaur. Epistol.* tom. iii. p. 154, says he was imperfectly acquainted with it. The editor of Ernesti's Institutio fixes its age at the fifth century: he says, that it contains several excellent readings, coinciding in

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general with those of the Alexandrine fathers. The indefatigable industry of the moderns has discovered a version yet in manuscript, called the *Sahidic* version, from its being in the language of the nation which inhabits the Upper Egypt, or the part which lies between Cahera and Assevan, called in Arabic, Said. It is supposed by Dr. Woide to have been made in the second century. All the fragments of the version were prepared for the press, by the late Dr. Woide. They have been splendidly printed at the Clarendon press, under the care of Dr. Ford, with this title: *Appendix ad Editionem Novi Testamenti Græci, e codice MS. Alexandrino a Carolo Godofredo Woide descripti, in quâ continentur Fragmenta Novi Testamenti juxta interpretationem Dialecti superioris Ægypti, quæ Thebaica vel Sahidica appellatur, e codicibus Oxoniensibus maxima ex parte desumpta, cum Dissertatione de versione bibliorum Ægyptiaca, quibus subjicitur Codicis Vaticani Col-*

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*latio. Oxonii e typographeo Clarendoniano.* 1799.

XIII. 3. The first name, by which we know *Ethiopia* in history, is Lud. It is the name given to it by Moses, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezechiel. About the time when the Israelites quitted Egypt, a nation of blacks, who dwelt on the banks of the Indus, and are called Chusites in the Old Testament, established a powerful empire in the African Lydia, and called it Æthiopia. Towards the end of the reign of Constantine the Great, they were conquered by the Abyssinians, who came from the southern part of the Happy Arabia, and were called Homerites; Saba was the capital of the kingdom. The Queen, whom Solomon's wisdom attracted to Palestine, was sovereign of that country. They were converted to Christianity in the fourth century; and, towards the ninth, embraced the errors of Dioscorus, respecting the two natures of the second person of the blessed

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Trinity. The Æthiopic language, into which the translations of the Holy Writings were made, is the ancient language of Abyssinia, not the language now in use. The language, which it nearest resembles, is the Arabic; but from that, and all the kindred languages of the east, it differs, as it is written from the left to the right hand, and expresses the vowels by determinate characters, and not by points. The religion now established in the country is a mixture of Judaism, Christianity, and Heathenish superstition.

An *Æthiopic* version was published at Rome, in 1548 and 1549, from a defective copy; that, from which the Æthiopic version in the London Polyglott was printed, was still more defective.

XIII. 4. *Armenia* is divided between the Turks and the Persians. The greater part of it belongs to the former. Erzerom is its capital. Erevan is the capital of the Persian part. The Armenian alphabet is not earlier

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than the fourth century. Miesrob, minister of state and secretary to Warasdates and Arsaces the IVth, kings of Armenia, and contemporaries with Theodosius the IId, invented it; and to him, the unanimous testimony of the Armenian writers ascribes the translation of their Scriptures. In the thirteenth century, the Churches of the Lesser Armenia and Cilicia submitted to the Pope: and Haitho, their king, became a Franciscan friar. He published a new edition of the Armenian Bible. It is asserted, that he made the antient text conform throughout, to the Latin Vulgate. This is a point of the utmost importance, in Biblical criticism: but probably it will remain in uncertainty, till the discovery of a copy of the version prior to the time of Haitho. Should such a manuscript be discovered, and should there appear a general conformity between it and the Latin Vulgate, then, as the antiquity of the Armenian version would be unquestionable, and there is great reason to sup-

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pose it was executed with great care and skill, the value of each of the versions, and particularly that of the Latin Vulgate, will be considerably increased.

An *Armenian* version was printed at Amsterdam, in 1666, in quarto; an edition in octavo was printed there in 1668. The former includes both the Old and the New Testament; the latter contains the New Testament only. An edition in that language of the New Testament was published in duodecimo, in 1698.

XIII. 5. The language of the Arabs was, during several ages, confined within the country: it was spread by the Mahometans over all the countries that were conquered by their arms; and thus, from the gulph of Arabia, it was spoken, as far as Portugal on the west, and Malacca on the east. It must be ranked among the most antient languages; and excels all languages in copiousness. It is of the utmost use in Biblical criticism.



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An *Arabic* version of the four Gospels was published at Rome in 1590—1591, in one volume folio. It was printed with a version of the remaining books of the New Testament, in the Paris and London Polyglotts. Erpenius published the Arabic New Testament at Leyden, in 1616, in one volume 4^to^. from a manuscript written in the Upper Egypt, in the year 1342. The Roman congregation *de propagandâ fide* published, in 1671, an Arabic and Latin Bible, under the inspection of Sergius Risius, bishop of Damascus, in three volumes folio. The English society for promoting Christian knowledge published, in 1727, in one volume 4^to^. an Arabic New Testament, for the use of the Christians in Asia. Ten thousand copies were printed of this edition. But none of these editions, nor any Arabic manuscript, that has yet been discovered, is of any importance in Biblical criticism, as no satisfactory evidence has yet been produced of their antiquity. The general opinion is,

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that none of them are earlier than the age of Mahomet.

XIII. 6. While the antient empire of *Persia* subsisted, Persia had a language of her own. In the course of time it became successively subject to the Greeks, the Romans, the Saracens, and the Turks; and each of them introduced some alterations into the language of the Persians. The modern language of Persia is a mixture of all these, together with a considerable portion of Gothic, or Teutonic, (Persæ fuerunt originitus Scythæ, says Ammianus Marcellinus, L. xxxi. 11.) but the Arabic and Turkish predominate. A *Persic* version of the four gospels is printed in the London Polyglott. A new translation of it was printed by Professor Bode at Helmstadt, in 1750—1751, with a Preface, containing historical and critical remarks on the Persic versions. Another Persic version was printed in London. It has two title pages, the one by Wheloc, dated 1652, the other by Pier-

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sone, dated 1657. These versions, more particularly the former, are thought to be translations from the Syriac, so that their chief use is in ascertaining the readings of that version. It is observable that, of the Old Testament, a Persic translation of the Pentateuch only is published in the London Polyglott.

XIII. 7. Ernesti in his Institutio says, that Ulphilas, bishop of the Goths, translated the New Testament into the *Gothic* language, in the fourth century: and that this version is supposed to be the version of the Gospels, which was published at Dordrect, with an excellent Glossary, in 1665, by Junius and Marschall; at Amsterdam, in 1684; by Stiernhielm, at Stockholm, in 1672, with a Glossary and with the Swedish and Icelandic versions; and at Oxford, in 1750, by Edward Lye. The last edition was prepared for the press by Benzel, archbishop of Upsal: but, as he died before the work could be sent to the press at Upsal, where it was

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to have been printed, the care of the impression was intrusted to Lye at Oxford.

The *Codex Argenteus*, considered to be a thousand years old, is written on vellum: the letters are silver, except the initials, which are gold. It has been much doubted, whether the version should be called Gothic or Francic, and whether it was taken from the Greek or the Latin: but Michaelis seems to prove that it is a Gothic version.

For the history and illustration of this version, the following collection is recommended: *Joh. Ab. Ihre. Scripta versionem Ulphilanam Mæso-Gothicam illustrantia, ab ipso doctissimo auctore emendata, novisque accessionibus aucta, jam vero ob præstantiam et raritatem collecta, et una cum aliis scriptis, similis argumenti, edita ab. Ant. Irid. Busching. Berolini*, 1773, 4to. Some fragments of this version, discovered by Knittel in a *Codex rescriptus*, in the library at Wolfenbuttell, were first published by him, at Brunswic, 1763, 4to. and afterwards republished by

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Ihre, with his own observations the same year, at Upsal, likewise in 4to, with the following title: *Fragmenta Versionis Ulphelanæ continentia particulas aliquot Epistolæ ad Romanos haud pridem ex codice rescripto Bibliothecæ Guelpherbetanæ a Fran. Ant. Knittell edita, nunc cum aliquot annotationibus typis reddita a Johanne Ihre. Accedunt duæ dissertationes ad philologiam Mæso-Gothicam spectantes. Upsaliæ*, 1763, 4to.

XIII. 8. The *Russian* or *Slavonian* version was made from the Greek.

It is observable that, except the Arabians, no people has been so extensively diffused as the Slavonians; they have spread themselves over all the countries between the Adriatic and the Frozen Ocean, and from the Baltic, over through the whole length of northern Asia, to America.

The most antient copy of the whole Bible, in the Russian language, was written in the year 1499, in the time of the Grand Duke Wasiljewitch. But of the New Testament

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there are copies of the eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries. A still more ancient manuscript of the New Testament was given by the Czar Iwan Wasiljewitch to Garabunda, secretary to the dutchy of Lithuania; it was written in the time of the Grand Duke Wlademir, who reigned from 972 to 1015. The oldest printed edition is that of Prague, in 1519. It has been since printed at Ostrog, in 1581; at Moscow, in 1663, 1751, 1756, 1757, 1766, in folio; in 1759, in large octavo; and at Kiow, in 1758, in folio. Accurate extracts from this version have been given by Professor Alter, in his edition of the Greek Testament, 8vo. Vienna, 1787: but the best account of this version is given by Debrowsky in Michaelis, *Oriental und exeget Biblioth. Th.* viii. pp. 155—167.

Concerning the Georgian Version, which was published at Moscow, in 1743, folio, the reader may consult a tract, *Uber die Georgianische Litteratur*, Vienna 1798, writ-

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ten by Professor Alter, who collated th version for Dr. Holmes's edition of the Septuagint.

## XIV.

To obtain an accurate notion of what is called THE LATIN VULGATE TRANSLATION of the Scriptures, (a term often used inaccurately, when it is not particularly explained), it is necessary to enquire into the nature of the Latin versions, made before the time of St. Jerom, particularly the version called the Vetus Italica, or Itala, existing probably before the middle of the second century, and to consider the different versions published by St. Jerom, as they came immediately from his hands, as they were corrupted in the middle ages, and as they have been corrected and promulgated by papal authority.

XIV. 1. Two passages in different parts of the works of St. Augustine clearly shew the nature of the *Vetus Italica*, and the other

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Latin versions, *prior to the time of St. Jerom.* In his treatise *de Doctrinâ Christianâ*, lib. ii. cap. xi. St. Augustine says, "that the number of those, who had translated the Scriptures from the Hebrew into the Greek, might be computed; but that, the number of those, who had translated the Greek into the Latin, could not. For immediately upon the first introduction of Christianity, if a person got possession of a Greek manuscript, and thought he had any knowledge of the two languages, he set about translating the Scriptures." In another part of his works, Lib. ii. cap. xv. he says, "*in ipsis interpretationibus, Itala cæteris præferatur, nam est verborum tenacior, cum perspicuitate sententiæ.*" It should seem difficult to mistake the import of these expressions, yet they have given rise to much controversy. One side, with a view to rob the Vulgate of all pretension, even to a remote affinity with the translation pointed at by St. Augustine, in this place,

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has, in stern defiance of all manuscripts and all printed editions, proposed to read "illa" for "Itala;" and, (to make sense and grammar of the passage, of which the alteration in question, if it were to stand alone, would totally bereave it), to substitute "quæ" for "nam,"—an emendation, certainly not of the gentlest touch. The other side, to exalt the Vulgate, has supposed it may be fairly inferred, from the passage in St. Augustine, that there was a version, which having been first sanctioned by the Roman pontiff, was received by the whole Latin Church, and was generally used in the service of the Church. But this is carrying his words much beyond their natural import, as they certainly neither express nor imply more, than that there was a version called the Italic, and that in St. Augustin's opinion, it ought to be preferred to all the other Latin versions. The high terms of commendation, in which St. Augustine expresses himself of the Vetus Italica, have

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raised a general wish, that it should be discovered and published, particularly as it might materially assist in ascertaining the readings of the Antehexaplar Septuagint version. The first publication of the kind is that of *Flaminius Nobilius*, printed at Rome in 1588, in one volume folio, under the auspices of Sixtus Quintus. But, as this work, which was reprinted in the London Polyglott, was intended only to be a Latin translation of the Septuagint version, published in the preceding year by the same authority, and as, therefore, no more of the *Itala* was adopted than what agreed with that version, while the rest was either supplied by Flaminius Nobilius himself, or from the Vulgate, without any distinction of the respective parts, it can, with the exception of the notes only, be of little or no critical use. Of more value on this account are the editions of the Psalms, according to this version, published by *Faber Stapulensis*, in his *Psalterium Quintuplex*, Paris, 1568, folio;

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by *Joseph Maria Carus*, Rome, 1683; by *Cardinal Thomasius*, 1697, also at Rome; and by *Blanchini*, with other Parts, in his *Prodromus*, and in his *Vindiciæ Canonicorum Scriptorum*, Rome 1740 folio. In 1695, *Dom Martianay*, the learned editor of the works of St. Jerom, (the first volume of which contains the Psalms and Job, with Asterisks and Obeli, according to this version), published at Paris, in octavo, what he supposed was the Vetus Italica of the Gospel of St. Matthew, and of St. James's Epistle. In 1743, *Peter Sabatier* published at Rheims, in three large volumes folio, his "*Bibliorum sacrorum Latinæ versiones an-*
"*tiquæ, seu vetus Italica, et cæteræ quæcum-*
"*que in codicibus manuscriptis et antiquorum*
"*libris reperiri potuerunt, quæ cum vulgatâ*
"*Latinâ et cum textu Græco comparantur.*"
Where in his manuscripts there were chasms, he supplied them from the Vulgate. He published a new edition of his work in 1749—1751.——The last publication of the

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kind is by Father Joseph Blanchini, an oratorian;—"*Evangelistarium quadruplex Latinæ versionis antiquæ, seu veteris Italicæ, ex codicibus manuscriptis aureis, argenteis, purpureis, aliisque plusquam millenariæ antiquitatis, Romæ*, 1748, two volumes large folio. It contains five, or rather four manuscripts of a Latin version. In many places they differ; and Blanchini's arguments, that the differences are merely errors of the transcribers, are, by no means, conclusive. It seems generally believed, that they are four distinct versions. The value of the work is greatly enhanced by several learned dissertations, and curious plates. The various citations made in the Gospel by Christ, the Apostles, and Evangelists, of passages in the Old Testament, are brought together, as they stand in the Hebrew, the Septuagint, the Vulgate, and the old Italic, with a view of ascertaining the important and much contested point, whether Christ, the Apostles, and the Evangelists, cited them

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from the Hebrew or the version of the Seventy. It was printed at the expence of the king of Portugal, at the instigation of Cardinal Corsini, and, till Dr. Kennicott's Collation appeared, was thought the most splendid work that had issued from the press, during the present century. It is most earnestly wished, that a new edition of this and Sabatier's work were published in such a form as would make the price of them more suitable to the generality of readers; and that, to the edition of Montfaucon's Hexapla, by Bahrdt, were added, as a supplemental volume, those which he has injudiciously omitted.—A Latin translation, perhaps anterior to that of St. Jerom, is published by Dr. Kipling, with the Codex Bezæ.

That this and the other translations we have mentioned, *may be* anterior to St. Jerom, all allow; that any one of them is the Vetus Italica, no satisfactory evidence, no convincing argument, has yet been pro-

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duced: but there is reason to suppose, that in the generality of these versions, there is more of the Vetus Italica, than of any other.

XIV. 2. The great multiplicity of versions, and the confusion which prevailed among them, were the motives which first urged St. JEROM *to his Biblical labours.* He began by correcting the Psalms; but the people at large, being accustomed to their old version, could not be induced to lay it aside, in favour of St. Jerom's. He therefore published another edition. In that, he made few alterations in the text itself, but shewed, by obeluses and asterisks, where it differed from the Septuagint, or the Hebrew. From this last edition, and the old Italic, is formed the Vulgate edition of the Psalms, which is now used in the Roman Catholic Church. St. Jerom's original correction of the Psalms never came into public use. On the same plan, on which he made that correction, he cor-

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rected also the Proverbs of Solomon, the Ecclesiastes, the Canticum Canticorum, the book of Job, and the Paralipomena. He afterwards undertook, and executed with the greatest applause, a complete version into Latin of all the Old Testament. He translated also the New Testament from the Greek into the Latin. This translation, made by St. Jerom, of the Old Testament from the Hebrew, (including the books of Judith and Tobit, which he translated from the Chaldee,) and of the New Testament from the Greek, is the origin or stock of our present Vulgate, except with respect to the Psalms; which, we have observed, rests on St. Jerom's second edition of the old translation. The genuine version of St. Jerom of the Old and New Testament, from a beautiful manuscript at Paris, was published there, in 1693, by Dom Martianay, and Dom Pouget, under the title, "*S. Eusebii Hieronymi Stridonens. Presbyteri Operum Tom. I. seu Divina Bibliotheca antehac in-*

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*edita, complectens Translationes V. et N. Testamenti, cum ex Hebræis tum e Græcis fontibus derivatas, innumera quoque scholia marginalia antiquissimi Hebræi cujusdam scriptoris anonymi, Hebræas voces pressius exprimentis. Prodit e vetustissimis MSS. codicibus Gallicanis, Vaticanis, &c. Studio et labore Monachorum ordinis S. Benedicti e congregatione S. Mauri. Parisiis apud Ludov. Boulland* 1693, *fol.*" This version has been reprinted in the edition of the works of St. Jerom, by Dominic Vallarsi and Scipio Maffei, at Verona, 1734—1742, in 11 volumes, folio. St. Jerom's version had the fate of many considerable works of genius: it had warm advocates, particularly among the truly learned; and violent enemies, particularly among the ignorant. By degrees its merit was universally acknowledged, and it almost universally superseded every other version.—Such was the Vulgate translation, as it came originally from the hands of St. Jerom.



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XIV. 3. It did not escape the general fate of manuscripts *during the middle age.* Partly by the mistakes or errors of transcribers, partly by corrections made by unskilful persons, partly by alterations from the citations in the works of the fathers, and partly by insertions made in it by way of explanation, the text was exceedingly disfigured and corrupted in many places. One circumstance in particular introduced variations into every part of it. The old uncorrupted version was intermixed with it throughout. Cassiodorus, and after him Alcuin, used their utmost endeavours to restore the version to its pristine purity. The library of the College of Dominicans at Paris contained a manuscript copy of the Latin Bible, made in the thirteenth century, by some French religious of that order. It is comprised in four large volumes in folio, and is written on fine parchment, in the half Gothic letter. By a regulation of the general chapter of the order

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held in 1236, directions were given, that all the Bibles of the order should be corrected and made to conform to that copy: and at a general chapter, held in 1748, a transcript of it was ordered to be made by the Students in the noviciat. The labours of Lanfranc, the archbishop of Canterbury, in procuring correct copies, both of the Old and New Testament, are mentioned by Baronius, Cave, Dupin, and Wetstein. At the revival of letters, several persons of learning exerted themselves to procure a good edition of the Latin Vulgate. The chief editions of it published on this plan, are those of Robert Stephens, in 1540, 1545, and 1546; that of Hentenius, in 1547, accurately and elegantly reprinted at Frankfort on the Mayn, 1566, folio; and that of the Louvain Divines, 1573, in three volumes, both in octavo and duodecimo, reprinted in 1580, in quarto and octavo, with the addition of the valuable notes of Lucas Brugensis, by whom those editions were chiefly conducted.

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XIV. 4. It was afterwards revised and promulgated by *papal authority*. The council of Trent took the state of the versions into consideration. It declared the ancient and common edition should be considered the authentic edition; and that the Bible should be printed as correctly and as expeditiously as possible, principally according to the Ancient and Vulgate edition. In consequence of this, it was published by *Sixtus Quintus*, in 1590. He himself watched over the work with admirable attention and zeal; he perused every sheet, both before it was committed to the press, and after it was printed off. The principal persons employed in this edition were, Cardinal Caraffa, Flaminius Nobilius, Antonius Agellius, Petrus Morinus, and Angelus Rocca. But his edition scarcely made its appearance, before it was discovered to abound with errors. The copies therefore were called in, and a new edition was printed by *Clement* the VIIIth, his immediate succes-

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sor, in 1592; and afterwards, with some variations, in 1593. The difference between the two papal editions is considerable. Dr. James, in his celebrated *Bellum Papale*, reckons two thousand instances, in which they differ; Father Henry de Bukentop, a Recollet, made a similar collection, but denied the consequences which Dr. James professed to draw from the variations.— Lucas Brugensis has reckoned four thousand places, in which, in his opinion, the Bible of Clement the VIIIth may be thought to want correction. Cardinal Bellarmin, who had a principal part in the publication of the edition, praised his industry, and wrote to him, that those concerned in the work had not corrected it with the utmost accuracy, and that intentionally they had passed over many mistakes. "*Scias velim*," says his eminence, "*Biblia vulgata non esse* "*a nobis accuratissime castigata: multa enim* "*de industriâ, justis de causis, pertransivi-* "*mus.*" When it is examined critically, it

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evidently appears the work of several hands. A scrupulous adherence to the text is observable in most parts of it; but in some it is carried further than in others, and sometimes it apparently leads to barbarous expressions, and absolute solecisms; as *dominantur eorum—repletæ sunt nuptiæ discumbentium—videns quoniam* (for *quod*) *illusus esset a Magis—noluit consolari—benedixit eos —ubi erugo et tinea demoliunt—edunt*, for *ediderunt fructus suos,—illuminare his, qui in tenebris,—nihil nos nocebit,—vapulabis multus.* Other accusations of solecisms or barbarisms of a similar nature might be produced. Many of these expressions are defended by Father Filesacus, in his *Versio sacræ Scripturæ Latina Vulgata Defensa*, published at the end of Father Tournemine's edition of Menochius. At any rate they do not detract from its general merit. Not only Roman Catholics, but separatists from the Church of Rome, agree in its praise. It is universally allowed, that it does not suffer

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in a comparison with any other version. Dr. Mill, whose whole life was spent in the study of the manuscripts and printed editions of the original and the translations from it, professes the greatest esteem for it, and, in his choice of readings, defers considerably to it. Grotius speaks of it highly; Walton and Bengel praise it much. In his *Histoire Critique du Texte et des Versions du Nouveau Testament*, Father Simon has pointed out its real merit. The Church of Rome treats it with the greatest veneration. Some divines have supposed it to be absolutely free from error, and that no one is at liberty to vary from it, in translation or exposition. This is going to an extreme: the Council of Trent, in pronouncing it to be authentic, did not pronounce it to be inspired or infallible; but, where the dogmas of faith or morals are concerned, the Council must be considered to have pronounced it to be inerrant. In this decision every Roman Catholic must acquiesce, as he re-

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ceives the Scripture from the Church, under her authority, and with her interpretation. See *Natalis Alexander, de Vulgatâ Scripturæ versione, quæstio* 5, *utrum et quo sensu Vulgata editio sit authentica*; *et quæstio* 6, *de sphalmatis et mendis quæ, in Vulgatâ versione Latinâ Bibliorum jussu Clementis VIII. emendatâ, etiamnum supersunt, quæ ecclesiæ auctoritate corrigi possunt*; a note in Fabricy, *Titres primitifs*, T. II. p. 164. and Father Mariana's *Dissertatio pro editione Vulgatâ*, published by Father Tournemine at the end of his edition of Menochius, a treatise which clearly proves that our ancestors were further advanced in Biblical criticism than is generally thought. Some Roman Catholic and even Protestant writers of eminence have contended, that, considering the present state of the Greek text, the Vulgate expresses more of the true reading of the originals, or autographs of the sacred penmen, than any Greek edition that has yet appeared, or can now be framed.

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Among the modern editions of the Vulgate, that printed by Didot, Paris, 1785, in four volumes octavo, is particularly recommended by the neatness of its typography.

## XV.

We now come to THE ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF THE BIBLE.

XV. 1. There are many *Anglo-Saxon* versions of different parts of the Old and New Testament. Of the Translation by the Archbishop Elfric, in the tenth century, we have,—of the Old Testament, the *Heptateuch,* published by Edmund Thwaites, at Oxford 1699,—and, of the New Testament, the Gospels only, by Matthew Parker, London, 1571, 4^to^. These were reprinted by Franciscus Junius and Thomas Marshall, at Dodrect, with the Mæso-Gothic Version, 1665, 4^to^, reprinted at Amsterdam, 1684. As this Anglo-Saxon version is supposed by some to have been made from the Latin

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version in use before St. Jerom, it is highly valued by those who are curious after the readings of the Old Italic. But Professor Alter, (*Memorabil. VI. St. No. IX. and VIII. St. p.* 185), considers it to have been made from the Vulgate, as the Anglo-Saxon version of the Psalms, published by Spelman, certainly was. An imperfect account of the former of these versions is given in the following work; *A Saxon Treatise concerning the Old and New Testament, written about the time of King Edgar, by* Adelfricus Abbas, *published by* William Lisle, London, 1623, 4to, which was afterwards reprinted with this title:—"*Diverse Antient Muniments, in the Saxon Tongue, written seven hundred years ago*, 1638. It may be added, that Elfric's translation is so very loose as to make it difficult to collect any antient readings from it.

XV. 2. The most antient *English* translation is that of *Wickliff*. It was finished about the year 1367. It was revised by

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some of his followers. Both the original and the revised translation are still extant in manuscript: the printed copies of it are not uncommon. The manuscript copies of the latter are more rare than the copies of the former.

XV. 3. The principal *printed editions* are, 1st, those of *Tyndal* and *Coverdale*; 2d, the *Genevan Bible*, or the translations made by the English, who fled to Geneva, to avoid the persecutions of Queen Mary; 3d, the *Episcopal* translation, made in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, under the direction of Matthew Parker, the celebrated archbishop of Canterbury; 4th, *King James's Bible*:— it was printed in 1611, and is that, which is at present used in all the British dominions; the original copy, with the manuscript corrections, is in the Bodleian library; 5th, the English translations made by the *Roman Catholics*. The chief of these are, the *Rhemish Testament*, printed at Rheims in 1582. In the year 1589, Dr. Fulke,

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master of Pembroke-Hall, Cambridge, reprinted this translation, together with the Bishop's Bible, in two columns. It is a curious performance, and very much deserves the attention of those who study the subjects in controversy between the Roman Catholics and Protestants, particularly such as turn on Scriptural interpretation. The *Doway Bible* is printed in two volumes quarto, in 1609, 1610. It is said to be made from "the authentic Latin." A new edition of it was published in five volumes octavo, in 1750, by the late Dr. Challoner. Besides these, a translation in two volumes large octavo was published at Doway, in the year 1730, by Dr. Witham. It is enriched with useful and concise notes.

## XVI.

It remains to observe a striking peculiarity of the Old and New Testament,—its division into CHAPTERS AND VERSES.

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XVI. 1. The division of the Hebrew text into *chapters* was made by the Jews, in imitation of the division of the New Testament into chapters. But the chapters spoken of in this place must not be confounded with their Paraschioths or greater and less sections, into which, for the regular reading of it in the synagogue, they have divided the Pentateuch, a much more antient division, and still retained in the rolls of the synagogue. Their division of the Old Testament into *verses*, was more antient than the division of it into chapters, being probably of the same date as their invention of the vowel points. Much of the labour of the Masorites was consumed in calculating the verses, and their literal peculiarities. Thus they discovered, that the verses in the book of Genesis amounted to 1534; that its middle verse was the fortieth of the twenty-seventh chapter; that the whole Bible contained twenty-three thousand two hundred and six verses; that the Pentateuch con-

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tains two verses, all the words of which, end with a Mem; that three verses consist of eighty letters; that fourteen verses consist of three words; twenty-six, contain all the letters of the alphabet; one, contains all the final letters, &c. &c.

XVI. 2. The antients divided the New Testament into two kinds of *chapters*. The τιτλοι, or larger portions, are written either in the upper or lower margin, and generally in red ink; the κεφαλαια, or small portions, are numbered on the side of the margin. They are clearly represented in Erasmus's edition, and in R. Stephens's edition of 1550. These chapters differ in different copies. The most celebrated, and one of the most antient divisions, was that of Ammonius. From him it had the appellation of the *Ammonian sections*. Eusebius retained them, and adapted to them his ten canons or tables. But by the example and influence of Cardinal Hugo de S. Caro, the old division was entirely laid aside in the Latin

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Church, and in Latin manuscripts: Greek manuscripts continued to be written with the old divisions to the end of the fifteenth century; when that, in present use, was adopted. Robert Stephens was the inventor of the *verses* into which the New Testament is now divided. The division into chapters is sometimes liable to objection; the division into verses is still more objectionable: but it is now too late to reject them. In most of the later editions of note, the text is continued, without any distinction of verses; but the verses are numbered in the margin.

XVI. 3. The *punctuation* of the Bible is a modern invention. In the antient manuscripts no marks are found, except a point and a blank space. The comma was invented in the eighth century; the semicolon in the ninth; the other stops were discovered afterwards. The spirits and accents are said to have been introduced by Aristophanes of Byzantium before the Christian

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æra; but, unless the Codd. Vaticanus and Covilianus be exceptions, they are found in no Greek manuscript written before the seventh century.

## XVII.

It should now be considered, WHETHER THE VARIOUS READINGS OF THE SACRED TEXT HAVE ANY INFLUENCE ON ITS PURITY OR AUTHENTICITY, OR IN ANY MANNER AFFECT ITS CLAIM TO DIVINE INSPIRATION.—By the sacred text we do not here understand, the autograph or original manuscript, as it was written or dictated by the Holy Penmen, but the general text of the manuscripts and printed copies of it, which are in our possession.

XVII. 1. To discuss this, *it is necessary to ascertain what are various readings*, and to form an exact notion of their nature and number.

A various reading, in the most extensive

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sense of that word, is every reading, which differs from the text adopted by the writer. In one sense it is impossible to say of any various reading, or of any class of various readings, that it is absolutely unimportant. For, though one person may think it unimportant, though another may think it important: and though it may be of no value in comparison of the reading given in the text, it may have its weight in settling the value of the manuscript from which it is taken.

It frequently however happens, that, when a various reading is to be weighed against the received text, the value of it sinks to nothing.

1st, Such are the various readings which evidently and unquestionably appear owing to the mistake of the copyist, as the reading of Θαρα for Ζαρα, in Matt. ch. i. v. 3.

2dly, The same may be said of the various readings, which evidently and undeniably proceed from the copyist's wilfully



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departing from the text. They may be divided into those, which are designedly made for an improper purpose, as to impugn a truth acknowledged by the party himself; and those, which being well, but not wisely meant, may be said to proceed from honest bigotry.

To alter the text, with a bad design, is certainly an heinous offence against religion and truth: no person, therefore, should be charged with it, unless on the strongest evidence. In the heat of controversy, the charge has often been made, and very seldom proved. Among other charges, which have been urged against the Jews, must be ranked that of falsifying the Hebrew text: but of this, St. Jerom, (*Comment. cap. VI. Isaiæ, operum Tom. III. col.* 64), and St. Augustine, (*de civit. Dei, lib. XV. cap. XIII. Oper. Tom. VIII. col.* 392), entirely acquit them. When the antient fathers appear to accuse them of it, they will be found, generally speaking, to charge them with cor-

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rupting the Septuagint or wilfully mistranslating the text; but not to charge them with altering the text itself. This Tryphon in his dialogue with St. Justin, professes to consider as equally criminal, with adoring the Golden Calf, consecrating children to idols, making children pass through fire, or killing prophets.—Where the alteration is made from honest motives, as from a notion of altering the text for the sake of improving it, if the alteration be held out, by the person making it, as part of the exemplar, he is evidently guilty of deceit, and deserves at least, that censure, to which pious frauds are justly obnoxious. Such are the alterations made by transcribers for the purpose of evading an objection made to a fact or a sentiment expressed in the received text: as the alteration in almost all the manuscripts and printed texts, except the Codex Cantabrigiensis, the Codex Cyprius, and the Vulgate of the *οὐκ ἀναβαίνω*, John vii. 8. into *οὔπω ἀναβαίνω*, to avoid the apparent contra-

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diction objected to this passage by Porphyry and other adversaries of christianity. But, if the party himself confess the alteration, he may want discernment, yet he is free from criminality. Still further removed from criminality are those, who, transcribing a version of the text, avowedly alter it, in their transcript, from a notion that the substituted word more faithfully or happily expresses the original. Such, in the Hebrew manuscripts, has frequently been the substitution of the Ketibh for the Keri; and, in the Latin versions, the generality of the alterations made in them during the middle ages.

3dly, Equally insignificant are the differences which are found in the spelling of words, where custom allows of two modes of writing the same word. This remark applies particularly to Hebrew manuscripts; where the vowel, diacritic, tonic and extraordinary points and the quiescent letters may often be inserted or omitted, at the writer's pleasure, without affecting even the

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pronunciation of the word: or, at least, without affecting more than its pronunciation.

4thly, As unimportant are the various readings, produced from translations, where the words of the translation differ only in form,—(as *Gjesmani* in the Persic version for Γεθσημανῆ), or differ only in figure, (as *consumasset* in the vulgate for ἐξέλιπε); or differ only in idiom as the oriental rendering of Ταρσεὺς, by *qui est ex Tarso*, and the vulgate translation of ἀπὸ μικροῦ ἕως μεγάλου by a *minimo usque ad maximum*, Act. viii. 10. None of these instances prove a various reading in the text from which the translation is made.

5thly, As unimportant, in the same light, are the differences from the received text, which are found in the passages cited by the fathers, where they are evidently guilty of mistake; or where they evidently profess to express the meaning, and not to give the words of the sentence; or where there are

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grounds to suppose they do not cite with accuracy or from a valuable manuscript. Where there is ground to suppose that they cite with accuracy, and from a valuable manuscript, they are of the very highest authority. This was pointedly urged by Bossuet against Simon, and is placed beyond controversy by Griesbach.

From the general mass of various readings, we must, therefore, subtract those which are included in the classes above mentioned: and thus a very considerable deduction must be made from their supposed number.

XVII. 2. The question then is, which of the remaining number of various readings are important; and what is their comparative importance. Here several observations occur.

1st, A large proportion of these remaining various readings arises from the mere transposition of words; and the greatest part, by far, of these transpositions do not,

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in any respect, alter the sense. The same may be said of a vast share of those various readings, which arise from the omission or insertion of words.

2dly, In other instances, however, and those considerable in number, the difference of reading has some influence on the sense of the text. But, most commonly, this is in respect to those readers only, who are versed in style and the synonymy of words, and who are sensible of every light and shade of expression. With the generality of readers, the difference we speak of neither excites a sentiment nor raises an idea, which the received text, however erroneous in the given instances, does not equally produce. As to those readers, therefore, (and they evidently form the general mass of mankind), the various readings last spoken of are of no consequence.

3dly, Of the ultimate remainder of various readings, some unquestionably are important. Thus, where in St. Matthew

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xxvii. 35, the Sixtine edition reads, "*Di-* "*viserunt vestimenta ejus sortem mittentes.* "*Et sedentes servabant eum;*" the Clementine edition reads, "*Diviserunt vestimenta* "*ejus, sortem mittentes, ut impleretur quod* "*dictum est per prophetam dicentem, Divise-* "*runt sibi vestimenta mea et super vestem* "*meam miserunt sortem.*" A difference, at least equally striking, is observable in that text of frequent use, "*Gloria in altissimis* "*Deo et in terra pax hominibus bonæ volun-* "*tatis.*" As a discussion of the various readings of this celebrated verse may give the reader a notion of that part of Biblical criticism, which turns on the various readings of the text, we shall attempt something of the kind in this place.

The *Textus receptus*, as it is called, or the text of the common editions of the Greek Testament, is printed thus, "Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις "Θεῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς εἰρήνη ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία." This rendered into Latin, gives, "*Gloria in* "*altissimis Deo et in terra pax in hominibus*"

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(or rather, *apud homines*) *bona voluntas.*" Another reading is that adopted in the edition of the Latin Vulgate, "Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς εἰρήνη ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκίας." "*Glo-*
"*ria in altissimis Deo et in terra pax homini-*
"*bus bonæ voluntatis.*" A third reading is produced by an alteration of the punctuation; omitting the comma after "*Deo,*" and placing it after "*Terra:*" the sentence will then stand, "*Gloria in altissimis Deo et*
"*in terra, pax hominibus bonæ voluntatis.*" Thus there are, at least, three readings of this important text; to these must be added the reading in the Roman Liturgy, and some Latin manuscripts, of "*excelsis*" for "*altissimis:*" but this is evidently a different version of the same word, and therefore does not affect the text. In each reading the sentence is most beautiful; in each, it is such as angels might sing, and heaven and earth rejoice to hear: but the sense of each is different. Now every person, to whom the Sacred Oracles are dear, must

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wish to have the true reading of the sentence, or the very words written by the Evangelist himself, ascertained.

To come at this, it must be observed, that the chief variations lie in the omission of the "ἐν" before "ἀνθρώποις," and in the case of the last word, whether it should be read "εὐδοκία" in the nominative, or εὐδοκίας in the genitive: to these, the following observations are confined.

With respect to the preposition "ἐν," there can be no doubt, that the insertion of it is the genuine reading. There scarcely is an authority, worth mentioning, in favour of the omission. Erasmus says, that he saw one Greek manuscript, in which it was omitted; but neither Mill, Wetstein, Griesbach, Matthæi, Alter, nor any other collator, has discovered a single manuscript, in which it is omitted. Therefore, supposing that Erasmus was not mistaken, and that a Greek manuscript, which he saw, really omitted the preposition "ἐν" before "ἀνθρώ-

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πους," it is evident, that the omission is to be ascribed, either to an oversight in the transcriber, or, if it were a very modern Greek manuscript, to a designed alteration, out of respect for the Vulgate. But, in neither supposition can the variation be opposed to the united evidence of the Greek manuscripts; between four and five hundred of them have been collated, and, without an exception, it has been found in them all. Besides, the manuscript evidence referred to by Erasmus is anonymous, as we know nothing of the manuscript, in which he professes to have observed the omission. Further, though in the modern printed Vulgate, the preposition "*in*" before "*hominibus*" is omitted; yet, in several of the antient Latin manuscripts, which are entitled to very high respect, the preposition is retained, as it is in the Greek manuscripts. Thus the Codex Bezæ has "*in hominibus*" in the text, as well as "ἐν ἀνθρώποις" in the Greek. The same reading is found in the Codex S. Germa-

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nensis, quoted by Sabatier; in the Codex Forojuliensis, quoted by Blanchini; and the Codex Harleianus, quoted by Griesbach. St. Jerom also, as appears from Sabatier's note to the passage, quotes in one instance, "*hominibus*," with the preposition before it.—The conclusion is, that the true reading is to insert the preposition, the weight of authority being wholly on the side of its insertion.

The next and more important difficulty is, to ascertain, whether the text should contain "εὐδοκία" with the Greek, or "εὐδοκίας" with the Latin. Here the question is of a nicer kind, there being in this instance, a much nearer approach to a balance of authorities. All the modern printed texts of the Vulgate, the most antient Latin manuscripts, and, speaking generally, all the Latin fathers have "*bonæ voluntatis*," not "*bona voluntas*;" εὐδοκίας in the genitive is likewise the reading of the Codex Alexandrinus, and the Codex Bezæ. On the other

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hand, in all the rest of the Greek manuscripts, not excepting the Codex Vaticanus, we find "εὐδοκία" in the nominative. Εὐδοκία likewise is quoted by Origen, Eusebius, St. Athanasius, St. Epiphanius, St. Chrysostom, and almost all the other Greek writers, who have cited the passage. Origen especially, an evidence of the highest authority, has quoted the passage three times, with "εὐδοκία" in the nominative. The conclusion is, that "εὐδοκία" is the more antient and the genuine reading. The very utmost that can be said in favour of "εὐδοκίας" is, that it was a very early alteration in some Greek manuscripts.

This also decides the punctuation of the text; the nominative Greek being established to be the true reading, the sense requires, that the commas should be after "Θεῷ," and "εἰρήνη," and with this the common punctuation accords. Thus the genuine reading of this most important text clearly is,

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IN THE GREEK,

" Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς εἰρήνη, ἐν
" ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία."

IN THE LATIN,

" *Gloria in altissimis Deo, et in terra pax, in*
" *hominibus* (or rather, *apud homines*) *bona*
" *voluntas.*"

XVII. 3. Such then is the number and importance of the various readings; the next enquiry is, *whether they affect the authenticity of the sacred writings?* Far from affording an argument against it, they depose in its favour. Considering the distance of time, and the fortunes and fates of the languages, in which the Old and New Testament were written, nothing but a miracle could have made the state of the text different from what it is. If the various readings did not exist, if they were fewer in number, if they were different in their nature from what they are, the infidel would urge this as an argument against the authenticity of the text, and would call on

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the Christian for proof of the miracle, to which the sacred text owed its wonderful integrity, in defiance of the universal and unvarying effects of time on every other text. As it is, the Christian has no such argument to answer; and whatever may be the state of the text, no argument can be drawn from it, against his faith. Be the text as faulty as it can be represented, every text contains the same laws, the same miracles, the same prophecies, the same chain of history, the same doctrine: every text equally shews, that the law came before the Gospel, the prophets before the Messiah, that the Redeemer was expected, came, taught, suffered, and died; that he established his Church, sent her the Comforter, and promised to preserve her in spirit and truth, to the end of time. Instead of discussing with the infidel the number of the various readings of the sacred text, or the consequences deducible from them, let him be called upon to say, whether, in the

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whole system of Christian history, Christian doctrine, or Christian morals, contained in the Scriptures, there be a single article necessary or profitable to be known, to be believed, or to be practised, which is found in one text, and is not found in another. Till this be shewn, Christianity itself is not concerned in the various readings of the Scripture: the state of the text may be a subject of discussion, but will rather be a literary, than a religious, enquiry.

But if, even in the degree admitted, the text be imperfect, it may be asked, what becomes of the generally received opinion of its inspiration. To this it may be shortly replied, that the supposed imperfection does not affect the text, so far as it is the Christian's rule of faith, or the rule of his conduct, or so far as it contains the history of his Redeemer.

It does not therefore prove, that the text was not divinely inspired; it proves only, that, as to individual words, it was not

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miraculously preserved. But, to dwell for some time on this important topic, without making it the subject of a regular discussion,—and premising, that the inspiration here asserted for the sacred penmen, (without denying it to them in a higher degree), is that interposition only of the Holy Spirit, which may be supposed to have moved them to write what the Gospel contains of knowledge necessary or profitable to salvation; and, when writing it, to have preserved them from error; it may be observed, that, as the natural powers of man could not lead to the discovery of the sublime truths of Christianity, there seems some ground to conclude, that his natural powers were not sufficient to record these truths with accuracy; and that, when the salvation of generations for ages was, by the will of Providence, made to depend on the belief of certain facts, and the practice of certain duties, there seems ground to infer, that Providence would exempt, even from a pos-



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sibility of error, the record of that saving knowledge. It is said, that the truths of Christianity though most beautiful and sublime, are simple and few, and might, therefore, easily be remembered and committed to writing. But this must be understood with some qualification. Christianity does not wholly rest on its doctrine; it is intimately connected with many other circumstances, particularly the character of the Divine Teacher. Is it not probable, that, in the numberless actions and discourses recorded of our Saviour, in the Gospels and Acts, the fisherman, if left to himself, would have recorded something so incongruous, as would have thrown a suspicion on the whole character of Christ, and made the whole of his doctrines questionable? In this point of view, the writing appears to be above the natural powers of the writer, and to prove the existence of inspiration from its necessity.

It may also be proper to bring to recol-

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lection the commission given by Christ to his Apostles, to preach and teach the Gospel to all the nations of the earth; and his promises, that the Spirit of truth, the Teacher, the Paraclete, should abide with them, should dwell in them, and be in them, should teach them all truth, should testify of Christ through them, should convince the world through them, and should bring to their remembrance whatsoever he had said to them. Now, did not this commission extend to preaching and teaching by writing, as much as to preaching and teaching by word of mouth? Was the Spirit of truth to influence their writing less than their discourse?—To this must be added, the effusion of the Holy Spirit at the day of Pentecost.

Christ assured his Apostles, that, when they should be delivered up, it should be given them, what they should speak. He adds, "It is not ye that speak, but the spi-" rit of your Father, which speaks in you."

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Now, is it probable, that inspiration should be promised them in circumstances, when they were rather advocates for themselves, than ministers of the word of God, and that it should be denied them, when, in the execution of their divine commission, they preached the new covenant, the life, the death, the resurrection of Christ, in sounds that were to go forth into all the earth, in words that were to be heard in the ends of the world? Ps. xix. 4.

Accordingly we find, that the Apostles speak of themselves as inspired. St. Peter says of them in general, 1 Ep. i. 12. "That "they preached the Gospel, which the "Holy Ghost sent down from heaven, which "things the angels desire to look into." St. Paul, 1 Cor. ii. 13. says, "We speak not in "the words which man's wisdom teacheth, "but which the Holy Ghost teacheth." Citations might be multiplied; but there are two texts which deserve particular attention. St. Peter in the sixteenth verse of

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the third chapter of his second Epistle, mentioning St. Paul's Epistles, says of them, "There are some things hard to be under-"stood, which they that are unlearned and "unstable wrest, as they do also the other "Scriptures, unto their own destruction." The other passage is, the celebrated verse in St. Paul's second Epistle to Timothy, iii. 16. The Vulgate translation of it is, "*Omnis Scriptura, divinitus inspirata, utilis* "*est ad docendum, ad arguendum, ad corri-*"*piendum, ad erudiendum in justitia.*" Now, it should be observed, that the word Scripture, standing singly, without any thing to direct its import, is always used in the New Testament to denote the Old, as in Matt. xxii. 29. John v. 39. x. 35. It certainly denotes the Old Testament, in the passage cited from St. Paul: this is clear, not only from its general import, but from its connexion with the verse immediately preceding, where St. Paul observes to Timothy, that "from a child he had known the holy

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"Scriptures." The passage, therefore, refers to the Jewish Scriptures. The word "*est*" is added to the Greek; and, upon that account, objections have been made to the insertion of it in the Vulgate. At all events, though it be not expressed, the idiom of the language requires that it should be understood in some part of the text; and it must necessarily be understood to apply to both the words "*inspirata*" and "*utilis*," or to the word "*utilis*" only. If it be applied to both, it amounts to an express assertion of the Apostle, that the Scripture is both divinely inspired and useful for the purposes he mentions: if it be applied to the "*utilis*" only, then the assertive part of the sentence is confined to the "*utilis*," and the "*divinitus inspirata*" is an epithet. Thus considered, it is only descriptive: but, in either mode of construction, the sentence equally predicates of the Old Testament, that it was divinely inspired. Supposing a dispute to arise in future times, on the late

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form of the Venetian government, a sentence in a writer of the present times expressing, that the form of the government of Venice was aristocratic and oppressive, and a sentence expressing, that the aristocratic form of the government of Venice was oppressive, would shew, that, in the writer's opinion, the form of the government of Venice was aristocratic: each sentence would equally predicate the author's opinion. Thus then we have the clear testimony of St. Paul, that the Old Testament was inspired; and a clear testimony of St. Peter, that the Epistles of St. Paul are on a level with the Old Testament, and form a part of those writings which he calls the Scriptures, or, as we term them, the Bible: "*those*," he says, "*that are unlearned and* "*unstable, wrest his Epistles, as they do all* "*the other Scriptures*," 2 Peter iii. 16.

If we consult tradition we shall find, that whatever disagreement has unfortunately prevailed among Christians in other respects,

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it may perhaps be asserted, that it was not till the latest doctrines gained ground, and even not till the extreme consequences of those doctrines were avowed, that the inspiration of the Scriptures was wholly and unqualifiedly denied. It is true, that there was some difference of opinion with respect to the extent and mode of inspiration. Some understood, that it extended both to ideas and to words; this appears to have been the prevailing opinion, till the ninth century, when Agobardus, archbishop of Lyons, maintained that it was confined to ideas. In this he was followed by Luther, Beza, and Salmasius; but all agreed, that inspiration extended to all expressions and words which were important. Thus far the difference has been thought immaterial. Some, as in our days Bishop Warburton, Bishop Law, and Dr. Doddridge, explained inspiration, as if, in the strict sense of the word, it extended to particular cases only; but they allowed, that the sacred penmen

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had every where the divine assistance, so far as to be prevented from material error. This, in substance, is admitting the general doctrine of inspiration. The Arminians denied inspiration to the historical parts of the Scriptures: some of them were led into this error by confounding revelation and inspiration, which are very different: and most of them refused inspiration to no part of the Scripture, that could be important to faith, morals, or knowledge. To deny it absolutely, and thereby to reduce the sacred writings to common history, was, with a few exceptions, reserved to our times. If there be a doctrine to which the "*semper, ubique, et ab omnibus,*" is applicable, it is the divine inspiration of the Old and New Testament.

But, to return to the subject of this enquiry:—to give the text in its utmost purity, has been the object of the editions and publications we have mentioned, and of many

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others. An Englishman must view with pleasure the useful and magnificent exertions of his countrymen in this respect. Bishop Walton's Polyglott ranks first in that noble and costly class of publications; foreign countries can shew nothing equal to Dr. Kennicott's edition of the Bible, or similar either to Dr. Woide's edition of the Codex Alexandrinus, or Dr. Kipling's edition of the Codex Bezæ: and, in the whole republic of letters, nothing is now so impatiently expected, as the completion of Dr. Holmes's edition of the Septuagint.

Yet, useful and magnificent as these exertions have been, an edition of the New Testament has lately appeared in this country, which, in one point of view, eclipses them all. It has been our lot to be witnesses of the most tremendous revolution that Christian Europe has known: a new race of enemies to the Christian religion has arisen, and shaken every throne, and

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struck at every altar, from the Atlantic to the Don. One of their first enormities was, the murder of a large proportion of their clergy, and the banishment of almost the whole of the remaining part. Some thousands of those respectable exiles found refuge in England. A private subscription of 33775*l.* 15*s.* 9$d\frac{1}{2}$. was immediately made for them. When it was exhausted, a second was collected, under the auspices of his Majesty, and produced 41304*l.* 12*s.* 6$d\frac{1}{2}$. Nor is it too much to say, that the beneficence of individuals, whose charities on this occasion were known to God alone, raised for the sufferers a sum much exceeding the amount of the larger of the two subscriptions. When, at length, the wants of the sufferers exceeded the measure of private charity, Government took them under its protection; and, though engaged in a war, exceeding all former wars in expence, appropriated, with the approbation of the whole kingdom, a monthly allowance

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of about 8000*l.* for their support; an instance of splendid munificence and systematic liberality, of which the annals of the world do not furnish another example. The management of the contributions was entrusted to a committee, of whom Mr. Wilmot, then one of the members of Parliament for the city of Coventry, was president: on him the burthen of the trust almost wholly fell; and his humanity, judgment, and perseverance in the discharge of it, did honour to himself and his country.

It should be observed, that the contributions we have mentioned are exclusive of those which were granted for the relief of the Lay Emigrants.

So suddenly had the unhappy sufferers been driven from their country, that few had brought with them any of those books of religion or devotion, which their clerical character and habits of prayer had made the companions of their past life, and which

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were to become almost the chief comfort of their future years. To relieve them from this misfortune, the University of Oxford, at her sole expence, printed for them, at the Clarendon Press, two thousand copies of the Latin Vulgate of the New Testament, from an edition of Barbou; but this number not being deemed sufficient to satisfy their demand, two thousand more copies were added, at the expence of the Marquis of Buckingham. Few will forget the piety, the blameless demeanor, the long patient suffering of these respectable men. Thrown on a sudden into a foreign country, differing from theirs in religion, language, manners and habits, the uniform tenor of their pious and unoffending lives procured them universal respect and good will. The country that received them has been favoured. In the midst of the public and private calamity, which almost every other nation has experienced, Providence has crowned *her* with glory and honour; peace

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has dwelt in her palaces, plenty within her walls; every climate has been tributary to her commerce, every sea has been witness of her victories.

To proceed: the German literati have also distinguished themselves by their Biblical labours. Numberless are the works replete with learning and criticism, which they have produced, on every subject of Biblical literature; but it is greatly to be lamented, that they have not always carried into their researches, that *fear, which is the beginning of wisdom*, and that moderation and respect, with which holy subjects, and particularly the word of God, should be treated. From its being proved, that the sacred text is not free from imperfection, it does not follow, that it is generally corrupt: and the notion of the absolute integrity of the text may be an ill founded prejudice, and the text, at the same time, may be generally pure. But it is the nature of man to rush from one extreme to

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another. A particular opinion for a time prevails universally. It is believed to be so well founded, and to be of so much importance, as to make it thought a folly, and even a crime, to call it in question. At length it appears open to objection; objections are made to it; they are found to be unanswerable. Then, without examining whether the opinion be erroneous in the whole, or only in a degree, an absolute and unqualified anathema is pronounced upon it, and adventurers in literature from that time never think they are so much in the right, as when they are furthest removed from what a few years before they themselves would have been the first to deify. Thus they change one extreme of error for another, and get as much beyond, as till then they had been behind, that happy medium, where truth and wisdom lie. Thus, at one period of history, we read with astonishment of the bigotry and barbarism, that mutilated the statues, and

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burned or proscribed the writings, of Greece and Rome. Taste and science arrive; we welcome them: but classical enthusiasm supervenes; and then, in a few years, we read with equal surprise, and at least with equal disgust, of a Christian and a Cardinal, who adjures the Venetians "*per Deos immortales*" and the "*Deam Lauretanam*;" of the Stoic Lipsius, who latinises Providence into *Fatum*; and of a party of still more classical fanatics, who renew the sacrifices of Paganism in their bacchanals. Similar to this has been the abuse of sacred criticism. The superstitious belief of the absolute integrity of the sacred text was discarded, from its being shewn to contain some errors, to have some imperfections. Here the inference should have rested. But from this time, on the continent particularly, sacred criticism has frequently run wild. Every error of every copyist has sometimes been called a mistake; every mistake has been produced as a various

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reading; every various reading has been thought a discovery; every such discovery has been held out as important; conjecture has been cherished; and thus, more liberty has been taken with the sacred writings than a sober critic would use in regard to the writings of Horace or Ovid.

Of this propensity to adopt extreme opinions, the country we are speaking of has lately produced some singular examples; and of these, (it is hoped the digression will be excused), the denial of the authenticity of the Pentateuch, is not the least remarkable. From the united experience of the wisdom of all ages, certain canons of criticism have been laid down, which are admitted by all men of sense and knowledge. One of these is, that a combination of circumstances *may* attend a work, which places its authenticity beyond argument, and that such a combination of circumstances *does* in fact attend some writings of antiquity. This being allowed,



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let the writers alluded to be desired to point out any one of those works, the authenticity of which is universally allowed, and to shew what argument can be urged for its authenticity, which cannot be urged for the authenticity of the Pentateuch: and, if an objection may be made to the authenticity of the Pentateuch, whether an objection of at least equal force may not be made to the work, whose authenticity they admit. They probably allow the authenticity of the Koran; yet nothing can be said for the authenticity of the Koran, that cannot be said equally for the authenticity of the Pentateuch. But, besides these general arguments, there are particular proofs of the authenticity of the Pentateuch, which can be produced for no other work. The first is, the religious veneration of the Jews themselves for it. They considered it far other than a mere history, or a work of literature. In every age, in every revolution of their fortune, they held it to

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be the very word of God. It was read in their temple, expounded in their synagogues; they made it their daily and nightly meditation; they thought it a sacrilege to alter a word of it; and, when called upon, they were ready to die for its integrity. A second argument, peculiar to the authenticity of the Pentateuch, arises from what we know of the scrupulous, not to say superstitious reverence, which the Jews have both for its preservation and integrity; from what we know of their Massora, of their vowel points, of their fanciful ceremonial in transcribing the synagogic rolls. Nothing of the kind was ever practised or thought of in respect to any profane author. A third argument is the internal evidence, which the sacred writings themselves contain, of their authenticity. Christ, his Apostles, and Evangelists, every where recognize the books of Moses: at an earlier period they are recognized by Esdras: they are expressed in the genuine

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language of the Jews; they were therefore written before the captivity: they are acknowledged by the Samaritans; they were therefore written before the division of Israel and Judah: this leads to the Judges and Joshua, and the Judges and Joshua refer to them. Why did not Josephus advert to other books? "We have twenty-two books," says that author, "which are justly styled "divine. In what veneration we hold them, "appears from this fact, that in the course "of so many ages, no person has dared to "add to them, to take from them, or to "alter them. On the contrary, it is the "innate belief of every Jew, that they are "the precepts of God himself, that he "should constantly adhere to them, and "willingly, if it should be necessary, suffer "death for them: a principle implanted in "him at the moment of his birth, πᾶσι δὲ "ξύμφυτόν ἐστιν εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς πρώτης γενέσεως "Ἰουδαίοις, τὸ νομίζειν αὐτὰ Θεοῦ δόγματα, καὶ "τούτοις ἐμμένειν, καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, εἰ δέοι, θνήσ-

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"κειν ἡδέως." Adv. App. I. 8.—Why did the Seventy translate the books we have, and no other? To this may be added, that the Pentateuch was never imputed to any other author than Moses; and the presumptions in favour of its authenticity from the simplicity of its style; from the expressions, which at the distance of Solomon's reign became antiquated; from the Egyptian words used by Moses in consequence of his being educated in Egypt, expressed by Joshua, as a native Jew, in pure Hebrew; the nature of the narrative:—but to conclude, let all the writings of all the writers of antiquity be numbered up, not one of them can be mentioned, whose authenticity can be supported by so much proof, or is liable to such little objection. The paradoxes of Father Hardouin have been justly derided; it is, at least, as easy to confute those of which we have been speaking. In the mean time, let it not be thought that this is the general language of the German

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Literati: many of them express the greatest concern for the laxity of criticism, in which some of their countrymen have indulged themselves on these subjects. "The improved state of religion and learning among Protestants," (says Schmidius, the Rector of the University of Wirtembergh, in his *Historia Antiqua et Vindicatio Canonis*, Lips. 1775, Prol. C. I. §. x. xix.) "has not prevented many adversaries of great erudition and ingenuity, from starting up, and availing themselves of some inconsiderate and injudicious positions of their predecessors, to attack the doctrines and authenticity of the sacred writings. They find the mysteries, the miracles, and the early history of the Jews, a troublesome speculation, and therefore pronounce them incredible. On this ground, they have affected to call in question the historical certainty and antiquity of the books of the Old Testament; and to consider the divine mysteries and early his-

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" tory of the Jews, as fables on a level with
" those in the mythology of the general
" nations of the earth. At length they have
" proceeded so far as to deny all revelation,
" and to refer every thing to philosophy,
" and the religion of nature. In judging
" of the code of the New Testament, they
" refuse to admit the truth and authority
" of the Church. To establish their private
" opinions, they set on foot new modes of
" argument. They quarrel with our code
" of the New Testament, and exert all their
" knowledge of history, and all their skill
" in criticism, to ruin, or at least to weaken,
" the authority of the sacred writings. To
" illustrate their hypotheses, they appear to
" support themselves by history: but the
" truth is, that their religious opinions on
" the subject are unsound. All their argu-
" ments tend to establish this position, that
" revealed religion is a game played by the
" clergy, and that all of it, but its morality,
" should be rejected. Whatever may be

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" their intention, it is demonstrable, that " all they have done hitherto, is to pervert " ecclesiastical history, and to blind the " ignorant. Most wisely do the Roman " and Protestant churches retain the code " of the New Testament. The uninter- " rupted piety of seventeen centuries has " preserved and reverenced it, and divine " Providence has kept it entire, and free " from corruption, down to our times. *Recte* " *igitur Romana et Protestantium ecclesia* " *codicem Novi Testamenti retinet, quem con-* " *stans XVII seculorum pietas diligenter ser-* " *vavit, et coluit; divinaque Providentia,* " *integrum, et ab interpolationibus liberum,* " *usque ad nostra tempora, propagavit.*"

In this, therefore, as in every other instance, where the word of God is concerned, the greatest moderation should be used; and care should be taken, that the assertions made, are expressed accurately, and in such terms as prevent improper conclusions being drawn from them. Where the

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number of the various readings is mentioned before persons, to whom the subject is new, or in any work likely to have a general circulation, it should be added, that their importance is rather of a literary than a religious kind; and that, whether considered collectively or individually, they do not affect the genuineness of the text, or the substance of its history or doctrine. The improvements, which proposed alterations are thought to make, should not be exaggerated; it should be remarked, that alterations of that description are confessedly few; and that none of them affect the Gospel as a history, as a rule of faith, or as a body of morality. Conjectural emendations should almost always be resisted. If there ever were a person, by his learning qualified, and by the boldness of his criticism disposed, to alter from conjecture only, it was Wetstein; yet he thus expresses himself: " Licet plerasque omnes quas vidi, et " in V. L. exposui, conjecturas doctas et

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" ingeniosas existimem, neque proinde stu-
" dium cujusquam vituperem; ingenue ta-
" men fateor ex omnibus illis vix unam aut
" alteram sese mihi probari utcunque po-
" tuisse." Thus guarded and restrained, there is no doubt, that verbal criticism on the sacred text may be made useful to religion.

Still, while it is contended, that the multitude of various readings does not affect the authority or authenticity of the Scripture, and while the abuse of the criticism of the sacred text is deprecated, it will be falling into the opposite extreme, to suppose, that the various readings are of such little moment, as to make the labour bestowed in collecting them, and weighing their comparative merit, an useless and vain employment. But here, unless a very extensive discussion of the subject is instituted, it must be confined to an appeal to persons acquainted with the nature and value of the editions of the classics. Such persons

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must immediately see, that on the one hand the various readings of the sacred text do not, in any respect, impeach its divine authority or authenticity; and that, on the other, those deserve highly of the Christian world, who, with due advantages of natural and acquired endowments, and with due attention and modesty, exert themselves in collecting various readings, or in any other Biblical pursuit, that tends to advance the literal purity of the text.

How great is the space between the edition of Tacitus by Lipsius, (to go back no further), and the edition of the same author by Brotier? Yet in each the history is the same. Each informs the reader of the dark policy of Tiberius, of the arts of Sejanus, of the imbecility of Claudius, the cruelty of Nero, the grandeur of Otho in his last moments: from each the reader learns, that, by the election of Vitellius in Germany, the fatal secret of the empire was disclosed, that an emperor might be chosen out of

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Rome. Yet surely the scholar reads all this with infinitely less pleasure in Lipsius than in Brotier. Such being the comparative merit of a perfect and an imperfect edition, and the connexion between the sacred writings and sacred literature being so great, every person, to whom the sacred writings are dear, must wish them edited in the most perfect manner. It would reflect disgrace on the learned of the Christian world, that any one Pagan author should be published in a more perfect manner than the Word of God.

## XVIII.

It remains to give SOME ACCOUNT OF THE PRINCIPAL AUTHORS, OF WHOSE LABOURS THE WRITER HAS AVAILED HIMSELF IN THIS COMPILATION. He must first mention *Michaelis*, whose *Introduction to the Study of the New Testament, translated*

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*by the Rev. Herbert Marsh*, was of the greatest service to him in every part of his labours. Judgment, extent of learning, and moderation, except where Wetstein is spoken of, are discernible in the original: equal judgment, learning, and moderation, are discernible in the copious notes added in the translation. It is to be wished, that the public were in possession of a good account of the literary life of Michaelis; his translator, perhaps, will confer that additional favour on them. After Michaelis must be mentioned the *Bibliotheca Sacra* of *Father Le Long*, the Oratorian, and librarian of the house of that Order, in the street of St. Honoré at Paris. The best edition of it was published at Halle, in six volumes 4to, 1778—1790, by Masch. The editor has inserted in it an account of Le Long's life and writings, and several dissertations of his own, on various subjects of Biblical literature. The *Titres Primitifs* of *Fabricy* must also be mentioned; a work replete with learning. It

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inclines to the old opinions; the author shews himself a zealous and able advocate for them; and, in every part of his work, studiously endeavours to excite the warmest sentiments of religious respect for the sacred writings, and every topic of sacred literature connected with them. But both Fabricy and Masch appear to carry their notions of the integrity of the text to an extreme, and to be unjust to the merit of Dr. Kennicott's labours. The author must also mention his obligations to the writings of *Father Simon*, whose Biblical erudition was far beyond that of his age. In some respects, he was the first adventurer in that career of learning; his progress in it was surprising: but in certain instances his bold opinions and want of exactness subjected him to reproach. There scarcely is a description of Schoolmen or Sectaries, whom, by attacking their favourite opinions, he did not make his enemy. The Jesuits, the Dominicans, the Thomists, the Jansenists,

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the Calvinists, the Lutherans, the Oratorians, to whom he once belonged, and whom he quitted, saying,

*Alterius ne sit qui suus esse potest!*

Even Bossuet and Le Clerc, who agreed in nothing else, united against Simon. But it is a justice due to him, that those who are inclined to accuse him of Socinianism, should peruse his apologies, before they make the charge.—A general mention must also be made in this place, of *Calmet's Dissertations*, replete with various and extensive learning.

The writer must also add, that he has been honoured by Mr. *Marsh*, with some highly valuable communications by letter, and with similar communications from the noble Prelate, whose learning and talents illustrate the see of St. Asaph. He hopes he shall not be thought vain in mentioning these favours, as it would be ingratitude in him not to feel them. His obligations to Dr. *Winstanley*, the Principal of Alban Hall,

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and Camden Professor of History, at Oxford, for innumerable services rendered him, in the course of the publication, he is as incapable of forgetting as he is of returning.

After this profession of general obligations, the aids to which he has more particularly had recourse must be acknowledged. For his general view of the Hebrew language, the writer was principally indebted to *Walton's Prolegomena*, *Simonis Introductio Grammatico-Critica in Linguam Hebræam*, and to *Wolfii Bibliotheca Hebræa*. For his account of the Hellenistic language, he was much indebted to *Simonis Introductio Grammatico-Critica in Linguam Græcam*, and to some excellent observations of Dr. *Campbell*, in the *Discourses prefixed to his translation of the Gospels*. In his account of the Septuagint he availed himself of *Calmet's Dissertations*, of Dr. *Owen's Historical and Critical Account of the Septuagint Version*, and Dr. *Hody's Treatises*. In speaking of the

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style of the New Testament, great use was made by him of the fourth of the *Preliminary Essays* prefixed by Dr. *Macknight* to his *Literal Translation of the Apostolical Epistles*. What he has said on the supposed currency of Rabbinical doctrines in Judæa, at the time of the birth of Christ, occurred from some expressions in *Michaelis*, and the mass of Rabbinical matter in *Wetstein's Notes*. Some parts of Dr. *Harwood's Introduction to the New Testament* led him to what he has said on Herod's politics, on the Pharisees, Sadducees, Scribes, Samaritans, and the Geography of Asia. No work gives a better account of the customs and usages of the Greeks and Latins, as they are alluded to in the New Testament: his edition of the New Testament is particularly useful, by pointing out the classical turns and references of many of the expressions. On all these subjects the writer also availed himself of *Lewis's Hebrew Antiquities*. What is written on the celebrated



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prophecy of the *Shilo* was committed to paper, after considering what has been said on that subject by *Calmet*, Bishop *Newton*, and Mons. *Huet*, the most learned Bishop of Avranches, in his *Demonstratio Evangelica*, a work written in the purest Latinity, and diverging into an amazing range of learning, but wandering sometimes so far from the subject, as to justify the application, which has been made to it, of the verse in Terence,

*Dii te perdant cum istâ tuâ demonstratione.*

In the account given of the geography of Palestine, and its political state at the time of the birth of Christ, *Calmet*, *Relandus*, and *D'Anville* were consulted, and particular assistance received from *Ernesti's Institutio*. The outlines of the geography of Palestine appear to be ascertained with tolerable accuracy; but if credit be given to what Houbigant says, in a letter written by him to L'Advocat, and published by L'Advocat at the end of his ingenious, but perhaps

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fanciful, *translation of the Psalm, Exurgat Deus*, every thing respecting the interior parts of it is in uncertainty and confusion. What is offered on the Biblical literature of the middle ages, is the result of some miscellaneous reading on that subject, in the lives of the Saints of those ages in the Roman Catholic calendar, particularly those written by Mr. *Alban Butler*, in his *Lives of the Saints*, "a work of merit," says Mr. Gibbon (Vol. IV. ch. xlv. note 67): "the "sense and learning belong to the author, "his prejudices are those of his profession." As it is known what prejudice signifies in Mr. Gibbon's vocabulary, Mr. Alban Butler's relations accept the character. For what is said of the industry of the monks, in copying Hebrew manuscripts, Dr. *Tychsen* is cited as an authority: to some parts of Wetstein's *Prolegomena*, a reference in this place might also have been made. In the section respecting the Massora and the vowel points, the writer has mentioned the

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authors whom he consulted on those subjects. In his account of the Jews, he followed *Basnage*, the *authors of the Universal History*, and *David Ganze's Tsemah David*, a meagre chronicle, but the best history written by a Jew, since the time of Josephus. In this section the writer has copied some passages from Mr. *Levy's Succinct Account of the Rites and Ceremonies of the Jews*. In every part of his account of the editions of the Old or New Testament, he received great assistance from Mr. *Bowyer's Origin of Printing*.

The nature of the work made it necessary to compress into a small compass what occurred to him, in favour of that persecuted and injured body of men, the Jews. On many accounts their general character entitles them to a high degree of esteem. Their charities to the poor of their own communion are immense; their care to adjust their differences in civil concerns amicably among themselves, is edifying: banks

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and bills of exchange, the two greatest supports of commerce, are of their invention. And let it not be forgotten, that if, on any account, they are justly censurable, our unworthy treatment of them may have forced them into the very acts we censure.

To what the writer has said on the authenticity of the Old Testament, he was chiefly led by *Calmet*, *Huet*, an excellent *Discourse of* Mr. *Marsh on the authenticity of the five Books of Moses*, and Mr. *Hooke's Principia Religionis Naturalis et Revelatæ*, a work greatly admired on the continent, for its elegance, precision, and solidity, and which deserves to be printed in England. In writing it, Mr. Hooke availed himself much of the labours of English divines, in support of natural and revealed religion, particularly that profound and useful book, Bishop Butler's Analogy.

The short view of the nature of the works written by the Jews against the Christian religion, was taken from a cursory perusal

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of *Wagenseil's Tela ignea Satanæ*, referred to in the body of the work. Dr. *Kennicott's Dissertatio Generalis*, his *Dissertations on the state of the Hebrew Text*, and the publications of *De Rossi*, furnished the writer with most of what he has said on the manuscripts and printed editions of the Hebrew Bible; and he received some assistance on this subject from *Walchius's Bibliotheca Theologica Selecta*. What he has said on the Greek manuscripts, and printed editions, and the oriental versions, is chiefly compiled from *Simon*, *Le Long*, *Calmet*, *Michaelis*, his excellent Translator, and the *Prolegomena* of *Walton*, *Mill*, *Wetstein*, and *Griesbach*.

In framing his account of the Antehieronyman versions, besides the writers mentioned in that part of his work, he had the advantage of the information so ably collected, and so agreeably conveyed, by Mons. *Huet*, in his learned and entertaining Dialogues *De claris Interpretibus*, and *De optimo Genere Interpretandi*. They were

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also of use to him in every other part of his work, which treats of the versions either of the Old or New Testament.

He is sensible, that his account of the English versions is very short; but he begs leave to observe, that, as these versions throw no light on the state of the text, the mention of them did not enter into the plan of his work, and nothing therefore called for a fuller account of them.

In the parts of it, in which a short chronological account is attempted to be given of the history of the Jews, from their return from captivity to the birth of Christ, the writer was guided by *Bossuet's Discourse on Universal History*, one of the noblest efforts of the human mind.

What is said on the religious credence and opinions of the Greek and Oriental Christians, is taken from *Father Simon* and *Smith's Account of the Greek Church*, from the more modern account of it by Dr. *King*, *Goar's Euchologion Græcum*, and the *Lettres*

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*Edifiantes et Curieuses*, particularly the Letters written by Father Sicard, to whom Mr. Gibbon's wish, respecting Volney, " that " he might travel all over the world," might have been applied with greater reason. In this article use was also made of the three following treatises, in the collections of Bollandus, *Tractatus Præliminaris Jo. Baptistæ Sollerii ad Tom. V. Junii, de Patriarchis Alexandrinis: Tractatus Historico-Chronologicus de Patriarchis Antiochenis: Gulielmi Cuperi ad Tom. I. Aug. Tractatus Præliminaris de Patriarchis Constantinopolitanis ab initio istius Cathedræ ad ætatem usque nostram.* The title of Bollandus's Collection is, *Acta Sanctorum, quotquot toto orbe coluntur vel a Catholicis scriptoribus celebrantur.* It evidently deserves to be more known in England, and to find a place in most of her great public libraries. The plan of this vast work was originally conceived by Father Rosweide, a Jesuit. It was first carried into execution by Father Bollandus, of the same society.

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The two first volumes, comprising the lives of the Saints of the month of January, were published in 1643. It was continued by different religious of the same society, through fifty volumes folio, to the volume which extends to and includes the Saints celebrated by the Church of Rome on the seventh day of October. The lives of the Saints, and the various memorials respecting them, of which the body of the work is composed, form an immense mass of historical information. It may be said to relate chiefly to ecclesiastical history: but when the intimate connexion between civil and sacred history is considered, this will not detract from its estimation, even with those whose attention is directed to civil history. All the writers engaged in this work are allowed to have possessed deep and extensive learning. Father Papebroch, who conducted it for forty-two years, is considered to have been a writer of the first strength; one of those superior men, who



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exist but once in a century; or, as Scaliger called them, *homines centenarii.* The Spanish Inquisition, to its eternal disgrace, condemned the volumes which contained the months of March, April, and May, as erroneous, offensive to pious ears, heretical, and injurious to the Holy See, the Dominicans and Carmes. Among other charges against the publishers of these volumes, it was alledged, that they called in question the descent of St. Dominic from the noble family of the Guzmans, and the descent of the Carmes from Elias. It is scarcely worth mentioning, that the sentence was revoked in 1718. The principal dissertations interspersed in the work have been published together, in three volumes folio, at Venice, 1749—1751, under the title, *Thesaurus Ecclesiasticæ Antiquitatis, et sacræ et profanæ Eruditionis, in quo Dissertationes, Tractatus, Diatribæ præliminares, aliaque præstantia Monumenta, quæ a Jo. Bollando cæterisque Societatis Jesu Hagiologis Antwerpiensibus,*

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*in omnibus fere de Actis Sanctorum Voluminibus conscripta, sparsim occurrunt, conjunctim exhibentur.*. Some of the late society, with the assistance, it is said, of two Benedictine monks, were employed in the work, in the Abbey of Tongerloo, near Antwerp, when the enemies of all that is sacred arrived there under the command of Pichegru. The last of the three treatises referred to contains some particulars of the famous Cyrillus Lucaris. Several curious facts respecting the hierarchy of the Greek Church in Russia and Turkey appear in Hofmann's Preface to the Catechism of the Greek Church, published by Mogila, the Metropolitan of Kiow, with the approbation of three Russian Bishops, his suffragans. It was afterwards approved with great solemnity by the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem; by the Bishops of Ancyra, Larissa, Chalcedon, Adrianople, Berœa, Rhodes, Methymna, Lacedemon, and Chio; and by several of

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the chief officers of the Greek Church in Constantinople. An edition of it in the Greek, Latin, and German languages was published at Wratislaw, in octavo, in 1751. An ordinance of Peter the Great, of the Patriarchs of Moscovy, and the perpetual Synod, declared it to express the religious credence of the Russian Church; and that the doctrine of it should be universally followed and taught. In what is said on the inspiration of the Holy Writings, the author principally considered what has been collected on that subject by Dr. *Doddridge* and *Calmet*. He wished to see the treatise written on it by *Jacquelot*, the powerful antagonist of Bayle: but he could not procure that treatise. Both Catholics and Protestants speak of it in high terms of commendation.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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